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INTRUSIONS IN ARQUÀ PETRARCA (1630–2003). IN THE NAME OF FRANCESCO PETRARCH

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ABSTRACT

This article highlights the cultural and political context of the numerous openings of Francesco Petrarch's ark, located next to the church in the village of Arquà Petrarca. The remains of the great poet were worshiped by numerous Italian and foreign travellers who went to Arquà, as it was considered a necessary stop during the Grand Tour. The ark was repeatedly opened over the centuries and the relics of Francesco Petrarch suffered substantial thefts. The focus on the local setting, which lived in symbiosis with the ancient monument for centuries, aims at tracing the origins of a cult which manifested some original features from the mid-19th century onward.

Keywords: Francesco Petrarch, Arquà Petrarca, literary cult, Grand Tour, relics, funerary practices, popular culture

INTRUSIONI IN ARQUÀ PETRARCA (1630–2003). NEL NOME DI FRANCESCO PETRARCA

SINTESI

Il saggio intende ricostruire il contesto culturale e politico in cui si svolsero le numerose aperture dell'arca di Francesco Petrarca, posta accanto alla chiesa parrocchiale del villaggio di Arquà Petrarca. Le spoglie del grande poeta furono oggetto di culto da parte dei numerosi viaggiatori italiani e stranieri, che fecero di Arquà una tappa quasi obbligata del loro grand tour. Nel corso dei secoli l'arca fu ripetutamente aperta e le reliquie di Francesco Petrarca subirono rilevanti sottrazioni. La ricostruzione del contesto locale, che per secoli aveva vissuto in symbiosis con l'antico monumento, intende risalire alle origini di un culto che a partire dalla metà dell'Ottocento assunse aspetti del tutto inediti.

Parole chiave: Francesco Petrarca, Arquà Petrarca, culto letterario, Grand Tour, reliquie, culto dei morti, cultura popolare

TRADITIONS¹

The image of that friar, who in May 1630 had dared to violate the ark that had held Francesco Petrarch's remains for centuries, resurfaced during the nineteenth century, largely due to the publicity surrounding the great poet.² An image which was immediately stigmatised by Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, in his *Petrarcha redivivus* (Tomasini, 1635)³; and, finally, at the end of the nineteenth century, definitively brought to light by Andrea Moschetti, director of Padua's Civic Museum, with the discovery of the judicial dossier prepared in 1630–1631 against the perpetrators of that scandalous profanation (Moschetti, 1898–1899).



Fig. 1: The Arquà Petrarca parish church with the ark housing the remains of Francesco Petrarch. (Photo: C. Povolo).

- 1 This paper is the result of research carried out in the project “Social functions of fairy tales” (J6-1807), funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS) (2019–2022).
- 2 On the night of the 27th of May 1630 the Dominican friar Tommaso Martinelli, taking advantage of the collaboration and complicity of the village blacksmith and the representative (the “degano”) of the community, had taken possession of some parts of the poet's right arm, stolen through a large opening made in the west side of the ark. Martinelli, a native of Portogruaro, had come to Arquà to preach during Lent and, following the death of the archpriest, had been taken on pro tempore to run the parish. Shortly after the theft, he vanished with the other two main protagonists of the break-in, who were sentenced to the severe penalty of banishment. In the course of the trial, an examination of the poet's remains was carried out. The open wedge in the ark was closed by affixing the seal of San Marco and that of the city of Padua (Povolo, 2014).
- 3 Ample information about the author is available in Vedova, 1836, 334–345; Trebbi, 2017.



Fig. 2: Petrarch's ark. On its western side, the opening made by the Dominican friar Tommaso Martinelli in 1630 is visible. (Photo: C. Povolo).

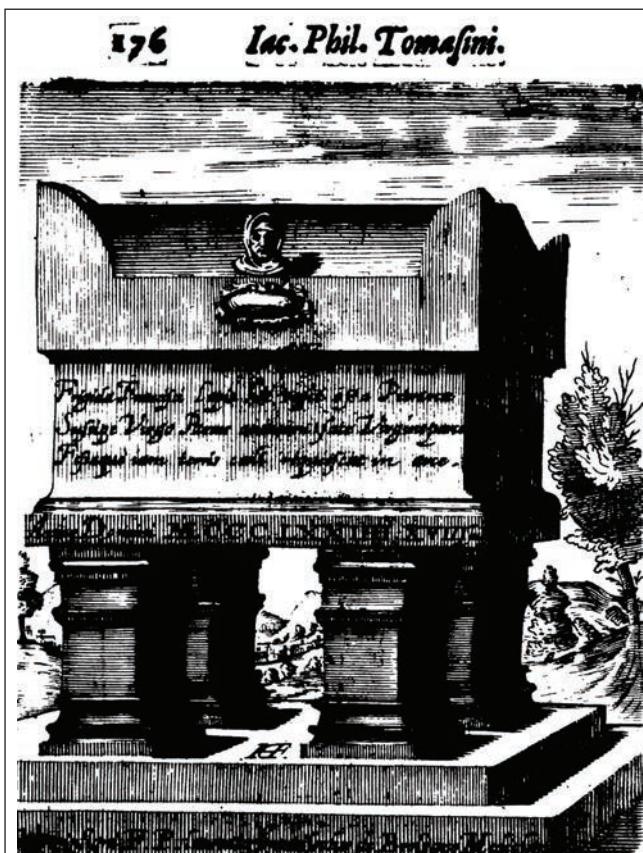


Fig. 3: Petrarch's Tomb. Image taken from *Petrarcha redivivus* by Giacomo Filippo Tomasini (1635).

The news of this depredation, the extent of which would only become known in 1873, following the inspection of the poet's remains by the anthropologist Giovanni Canestrini,⁴ became regularly taken as a sort of biographical date coinciding with the continuation of the cult at Petrarch's tomb in the small square opposite Arquà Church. The depredation had been defined, unequivocally, as a desecration. The motive, of course, was unknown, but paradoxically the memory of this audacious act resurfaced during the eighteen hundreds, following renewed interest in the great poet, and the places connected to him over the centuries.

4 The report had first been published in the *Atti della Società veneto-trentina di scienze naturali residente in Padova* (Canestrini, 1874a), and was reprinted as a separate booklet on the occasion of the fifth Petrarchan centenary (Canestrini, 1874b). On Giovanni Canestrini, see Corsini, 1975.

The name of Friar Tommaso Martinelli was thus, unsurprisingly, inserted in the vast bibliography published on the fifth and sixth centenaries of Francesco Petrarch's death. The perpetrator of the seventeenth century depredation would have inevitably been included in another *tradition*, which began and became stronger over the decades: the restoration of Petrarch's ark, which in 1843 was financed and commissioned at the behest of Count Carlo Leoni.⁵ An initiative which not only constituted the second opening of the ark, after the fraudulent one by the Dominican friar, but was definitively labelled as an operation repairing the damage of the previous violation and the wear and tear of time.⁶ Furthermore, Leoni himself recalled what had happened in 1630, attaching presumed new information about the episode and the fate of the bones stolen at the time (Leoni, 1843).⁷

At the reopening in 1873, the anthropologist Giovanni Canestrini dedicated ample space to the 1630 violation in his account, using new documents kept at the Frari archive in Venice and kindly passed onto him by the director, Bartolomeo Cecchetti (Canestrini, 1874b, 9–10). These were historical references concerning that distant episode, intended to reconstruct an affair of several centuries earlier and indirectly alleviating the disappointing results of an operation that had proved fruitless.

The 1630 depredation, the 1843 restoration, with the ensuing reopening in 1855 undoubtedly meant to restore what had been removed, and the following inspection in 1873, certainly constituted episodes which, although judged differently, formed part of an account focused essentially on events directly concerned with the ark containing Francesco Petrarch's remains.

Giuseppe Jacopo Ferrazzi in his *Bibliografia petrarchesca* dedicated numerous pages to affairs concerning Francesco Petrarch's tomb ("Vicende della tomba di Francesco Petrarca"; Ferrazzi, 1877, 598–612). There is a detailed account of the "malicious sacrilege" carried out by the Dominican friar. There are also expressions of contempt from many foreign admirers of the poet regarding the author of the depredation, to whom the Dutch intellectual Constantijn Huygens dedicated a Latin composition entitled *Laura Latroni* (Ferrazzi, 1877, 606–608). And, although it is notably imprecise,⁸ it is focused on the successive nineteenth century openings, praising in particular that carried out by Leoni (Ferrazzi, 1877, 610–612).

Three years earlier, on the fifth centenary of Petrarch's death, Giovanni Cittadella, an eminent intellectual from Padua, had aligned the two names of Martinelli and Leoni to praise the admirable enterprise by the latter with "rare munificence". Of course, there was no shortage of misleading news from the Paduan Count on that occasion, which was spread unchallenged by all those who were in any way involved with the poet's ark (Cittadella, 1874, 59–60, 70–71).

5 On the biography of Leoni, see Millocca, 2005 and Belloni, 1983. The term *tradition* is used here in its anthropological dimension (Povolo, 2015, 7–13).

6 A very important statement, not without a controversial note, is the one that N. Tommaseo wrote at the end of his brief speech on Arquà (Tommaseo, 1845, 15–16).

7 About this work: Belloni, 1983.

8 The inaccuracies, as we will see, were due to the misleading information provided by Leoni.



Fig. 4: Francesco Bellucco. *View of Arquà (late 18th century)*. In: Zaborra, G. B. (1797): *Petrarca in Arquà*.

The fifth centenary celebrations, however, took place in a cultural and political climate that had led to the formation of the new Italian state (Bertè, 2004). Included as one of the symbols of the Risorgimento, the memory of Francesco Petrarch was evoked, both in Padua and in Arquà, with celebrations culminating in speeches by Giosuè Carducci and Aleardo Aleardi. As suggested, the celebrations reflected firstly the aspirations of a local elite, which in the case of Padua, found its cultural reference points in the old university and the city academies; a localised aspiration, with a clear traditional imprint, aimed at claiming a sort of cultural prerogative from the poet's memory, even though it was in the context of the new national climate.⁹

In fact, the 1874 Petrarch celebrations hid a more subtle and unresolved conflict, which the previous 1843 opening had explicitly brought to light in the following decades, and which was destined to resurface during the celebrations dedicated to the Petrarch centenary. In December 1873 the community of Arquà and some of the neighbouring areas, centred on the ancient *Accademia di Bovolenta*, pre-empted by sponsoring the reopening of the ark and entrusting the anthropologist Giovanni Canestrini the task of inspecting the

⁹ As suggested by H. Hendrix, the Petrarch celebrations, both in France and in Italy, did not take place solely and essentially in the wake of national aspirations, but expressed "many elements that transcend the framework of nation-building and denote links with more traditional cultural practices, inspired by cosmopolitanism on the one hand and local competition on the other" (Hendrix, 2014, 117, 123–124). Conversely, M. Dović and J. Helgason are more inclined to emphasize the cultural impetus linked to nation building, noticeable since the 1840s (Dović & Helgason, 2016, 50).



Fig. 5: Ceremony at Petrarch's tomb. Photograph taken in July 1874, on the fifth centenary of Petrarch's death. (Civic Library of Padua).¹⁰

poet's remains – an initiative clearly sparked by the traditional rivalry between town and countryside, aiming to assert a sort of jurisdiction over the ancient ark.

The 1843 restoration, wanted and paid for by Carlo Leoni, a notable member of the city elite, had in fact been transmuted into a true and proper opening of the ark. An event that had not been viewed favourably by the local community, who considered Francesco Petrarch a sort of a local hero, whose prestige was visibly attested to by the constant stream of foreign visitors.

This reopening, as we shall see, determined a sort of short circuit and a series of tensions which were re-echoed until the following celebrations, even though the account of it channelled through the established cultural city elite gave it a positive gloss, despite it being clear from the outset that it had not been done in an entirely orthodox manner.¹¹

10 The photographs from the Civic Library of Padua are published by courtesy of the Municipality of Padua.

11 Again in 1923, in his review of 19th century Petrarchan literature, C. Naselli took up the two *traditions* to emphasize forcefully the meritorious action of Leoni (Naselli, 1923, 286–287).

In this series of accounts, the name of Martinelli and the affair of 1630–1631 were constantly represented in a negative light in order to justify the successive 19th century openings. In fact, it is probable that his name, which became the unequivocal symbol of a fearsome depredation, carried out with the connivance of members of the local community, was not perceived as substantially different from the one behind the 1843 opening and could thus justify the 1873 initiative aimed at reasserting the prerogatives advanced by one who had always been considered a local hero.

Francesco Petrarch's ark became a catalysing symbol for tensions sparked off by claims and aspirations from a number of parties competing to attain the prerogative of celebrating the cult of the great poet: the village of Arquà and surrounding areas endowed with government institutions, the city of Padua and the greater Italian cultural scene, well represented by the national literary community, with its academies and institutions. In the same way, the city of Padua could vaunt the prestige of its university, its intellectuals, who claimed a sort of political supremacy over the final years of the poet's life. Whilst the community of Arquà, with its traditions and, above all the visible presence of the ark, placed in the village churchyard, which had for centuries held the remains of the great poet, could justifiably claim to be the depository of Petrarch's final will.

The latest opening of the ark took place on the 18th of November 2003 as an initiative of a team from Padua University, with the aim of reconstructing a computerised image of the poet to celebrate the anniversary of his birth.¹² What occurred on the night of the 27th of May 1630 and in the successive 19th- and 20th-century openings of the ark seemed to belong to a remote past whose memories appeared substantially ephemeral in respect to the extraordinary nature of an event publicised by major national and international media.

But in October of the following year, to general amazement, the coordinator of the team, Professor Vito Terribile Wiel Marin, anatomopathologist of Padua University, publicly announced that the skull deposited inside the ark did not belong to Francesco Petrarch.¹³ A DNA test and carbon dating analysis carried out on some fragments of the skeleton demonstrated beyond doubt that it was a female skull dating from sometime

12 Even this opening was not without controversy, as this intervention by Michele Sartori seems to reflect, with hints of irony and amusement (*L'Unità*, 19. 11. 2003: *Briciole di patatine sulle ossa di Petrarca*, 13).

13 The British newspaper *The Guardian* summarized: "The bones of what was thought to be Petrarch's venerable head were in fragments when they were removed from his tomb. In 1873, it had been opened by an investigator, Professor Giovanni Canestrini, also at Padua University. 'He claimed Petrarch's skull disintegrated on contact with the air,' said Prof Terribile Wiel Marin. 'Since none of us has ever come across an instance of this happening, we can only conclude he dropped it.' Or might he have made up the whole story, putting back a damaged substitute and keeping for himself the head of a man revered as one of the fathers of the Renaissance?" (*The Guardian*, 6. 4. 2004: *Petrarch—The Poet Who Lost His Head*). Many Italian newspapers also dealt with what was immediately called a "mystery" (e.g., *La Repubblica*, 12. 10. 2004: *Petrarca. Mistero sulla tomba*, 28).

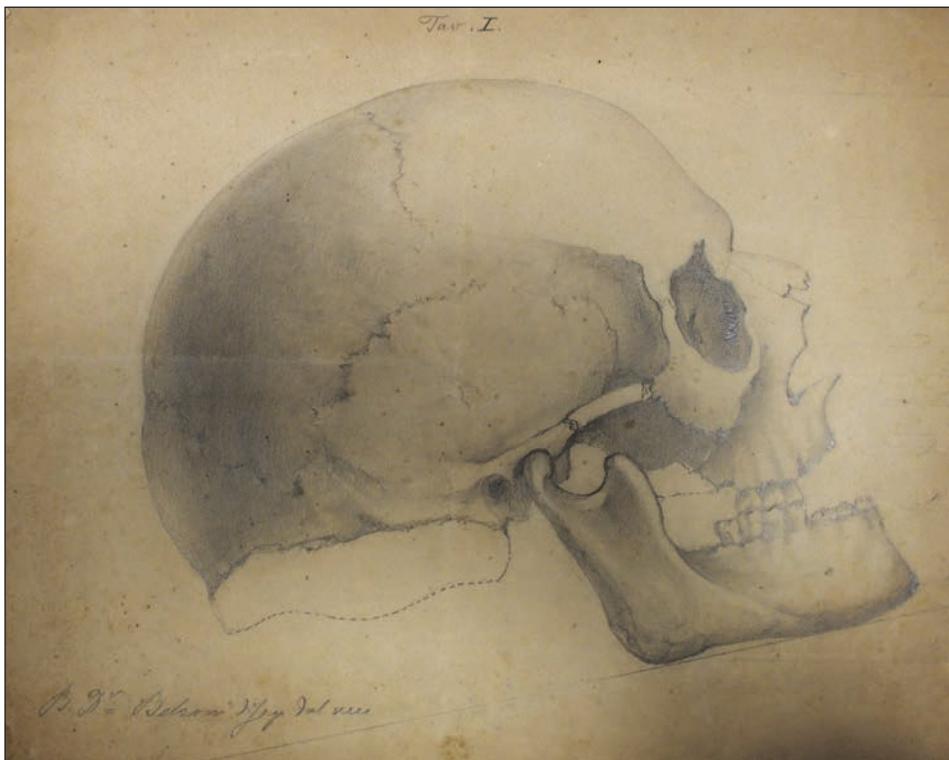


Fig. 6: The skull found in the tomb. Drawing by Bartolomeo Belzoni, produced on the occasion of the ark's reopening in December 1873. (Civic Library of Padua).

between 1134 and 1280.¹⁴ Going back to the past in order to identify the author of the surprising substitution was inevitable. And suspicion was inevitably cast on Giovanni

14 For this reason, the intervention of D. Caramelli, who carried out the analysis of the old DNA (aDNA) on two samples, a tooth and a rib fragment, was fundamental: “Multiplex DNA sex identification indicated that the two bone samples belong to different individuals, the tooth belonged to a female and the rib belonged to a male. This result was in agreement with and supported the morphological analysis [...]. Sex identification of the skeleton bones was well defined by historical morphological data as a male individual. The reassembled skeleton bore evidence of injuries compatible with those mentioned by Petrarch during his lifetime. Skull sex determination is more difficult using anthropometry and anthroposcopy analyses, but possible female origin suggested that the skull and postcranial remains were from two individuals. The aDNA results are consistent with morphological investigations and confirm the importance of using both molecular and morphological approaches in investigating historical remains” (Caramelli et al., 2007, 39). Such observations lead us to believe that it was very unlikely that Canestrini, in 1873, could have realized that he was dealing with a female skull.

Canestrini,¹⁵ as it seemed almost impossible that the skull had disintegrated, as described by the anthropologist himself.¹⁶

Subsequent detailed scientific studies have agreed on a possible substitution of the skull between 1944 and 1946 (Zanchin & Panetto, 2010). Indeed, the ark had been reopened in November 1944 at the behest of the political authorities of the Italian Social Republic, and with the supervision of the *Sovrintendenza ai monumenti*. Moved for security reasons to the Doge's Palace in Venice, the remains of the poet, when the conflict was over, were transferred first to the Institute of Anatomy at Padua University, and then definitively brought back to Arquà on the 26th of June 1946.¹⁷ The verified substitution, however, remained a conundrum contrary to expectations.¹⁸ The skull, it was maintained, had not in its entirety belonged to a woman, inasmuch as two fragments possessed the same characteristics as the rest of the skeleton, unequivocally that of Francesco Petrarch.¹⁹ The authors of *The Recognition of the Remains of Francesco Petrarcha* held that the substitution occurred just after the Second World War on the basis of observations (Zanchin & Panetto, 2010, 38) that seemed to completely exclude the possibility that it had taken place during an earlier period.²⁰

15 Although in a more nuanced manner, the authors of *Historicizing Race* seem to give credit to the idea of Canestrini's responsibility: "The whole tale told by Canestrini in his account may well have been a cover-up to hide the simple truth that, in his irrepressible excitement, to which he readily admitted, he may have dropped the poet's cranium on the ground and then replaced it with another out of embarrassment at his clumsiness" (Turda & Quine, 2018, 89).

16 "One cannot, I believe, deny that the opening of the tomb in 1843 and the following one in 1855 have greatly contributed to this final outcome" (Canestrini, 1874b, 16). The engineer Dr. Bartolomeo Belzoni intervened to remedy the sudden disintegration of the external parts of the skull. As his son Guido, present at the opening of 1873 wrote many years later: "Dr. Belzoni, a truly skilled designer, to save the situation, improvised a small device of iron wires able to support the precarious recomposition of the skull and to allow him to make a complete graphic design, as well as later partial ones, and to make the most minute anthropometric measurements with the guidance of Dr. Fanzago, and according to the directives of the professor [Canestrini]" (Belzoni, 1941, 24). On the basis of what emerged in 2003–2004, H. Hendrix, referring to the opening financed by Carlo Leoni, hypothesized that "there are indeed strong indications that he took away the skull that he himself found in excellent condition, substituting it with another one that later research found to be in extremely poor condition already a few years later, at the next opening of the grave in 1874" (Hendrix, 2019, 40). In reality, as we will have occasion to demonstrate, no explicit testimony, between 1843 and 1874, contains elements that could make this hypothesis plausible; and indeed from those years the official tradition that has come down to our times has been consolidated.

17 A testimony of that day in Quaretti, 2016, 46–48. A copy of the report, signed by several witnesses is kept in the Museo Petrarchesco Piccolomineo in Trieste.

18 I.e., between the (substituted) skull, belonging to a woman, and the remainder of the skeleton, belonging to a man reasonably identifiable as Petrarch (Caramelli et al., 2007, 39).

19 The fragments of the cranium belonged to "a spurious female individual, except for the small piece containing the occipital condyle and right hemimandible. All the other bones (including the hyoid bone and ossified thyroid cartilage) are attributed to the male post-cranial skeleton" (Zanchin & Panetto, 2010, 38). However, see the passage by Caramelli reported above.

20 "In support of this thesis, the *reddish hair* that had fallen from the occiput in 1855 confirms that the skull then present in the tomb was the same one that had been observed on the 23rd of June 1630, thereby ruling out a possible substitution during that period of time." Doctor Ferdinando Moroni, present in 1855 when the rib was replaced, had found red hair on the back part of the skull. And the same colour had been observed during the investigation carried out in 1630 during the trial against Martinelli: a fact, therefore, which, according to the authors, would exclude the possibility that the substitution had already taken place before 1855. But, in this regard, see what was observed below, where the information emerging during the previous nineteenth-century openings is seen in a different light.

The mystery, emerging unexpectedly after the new opening, obviously spurred research to discover the perpetrator, but above all suggested a search for the truth based inevitably on the tangled web of complex relationships between the scientific and humanistic approach, between disciplines like forensic anthropology and history, jurisprudence and literature. And what really happened, above all in the 19th century, could be ascertained only by penetrating the complex world inhabited by previous protagonists of the ark's opening.

THE DEAD OF ARQUÀ

In 1831 *Una visita ad Arquà*²¹ by Pietro Chevalier (Chevalier, 1831) was published, a work defining, for the first time, the image of the village as the place of pilgrimage celebrating the great poet; without neglecting the scenery and countryside, and great attention paid to the local inhabitants. This little work opened with a chapter dedicated to *Il paese*, the village, and then in the following pages the places which had become symbols of the great poet's memory: *Il lago* (*The Lake*), *La casa* (*The House*), *Il fonte* (*The Fountain*), *La tomba* (*The Tomb*). The final chapter, *Il Pretorio*,²² after a few brief historical digressions, gave the author the spur to describe some of the characteristics of the village and its inhabitants.

Chevalier gave pride of place to the village of Arquà, but focused without hiding his animosity and embedded prejudice on the community he saw there, portrayed in a negative light and stigmatised for some of its ethnic and cultural features, reflected, in the eyes of the author, in the indifference and carelessness shown towards the Petrarch sites.

The observations of an intellectual like Chevalier show a deep dichotomy still existing in those years between town and countryside, and above all the absence of a social stratum able to absorb and understand the political transformations in such

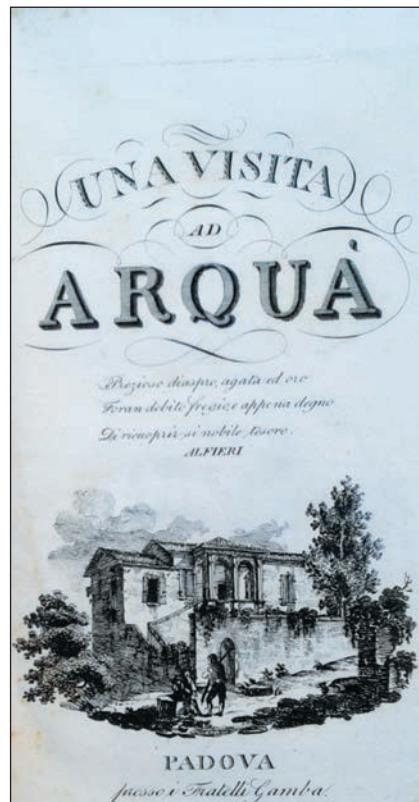


Fig. 7: Title page of *Una visita ad Arquà* by Pietro Chevalier (1831).

21 With an admirable series of engravings.

22 I.e., the villa, located in the highest part of the village, which housed the vicars sent periodically from the city of Padua to administer Arquà and the neighbouring villages.



Fig. 8: *La tomba* [The Tomb] from *Una visita ad Arquà* by Pietro Chevalier (1835).

a way as to influence social reality, or at least to become a voice for groups trying to improve the way of life for the lower orders.²³ But his work is particularly interesting because, although attributing to the inhabitants the neglect shown towards Petrarchan sites, he was unable to hide that sort of symbolic symbiosis which had grown up between the village, the great poet, and the cult which had arisen amongst many of the visitors. In the chapter dedicated to Petrarch's ark, Chevalier wrote:

None, though, however much they wanted to penetrate the sad reality of the situation, could ever form an idea of the bad behaviour of those countrymen, shaped by indifference, contempt and even aversion shown towards the monument. Yet it seems they should at least be proud of the devotion they see it being held in; and the passage of pilgrims, often illustrious, who visit their poor village; and of the fame deriving from this (Chevalier, 1841, 45).

23 Despite the heralded intentions, and a few innovative proposals, periodicals such as *Il Giornale Euganeo* or *Il Caffè Pedrocchi*, which appeared in Padua in the 1840s, do not seem to have produced meaningful transformations to the social fabric (Soper, 2013, 27–44).

To get to the painful point, an erudite writer, and certainly with a good knowledge of Petrarchan literature, Pietro Chevalier meant to decidedly debunk what he viewed as a sort of myth, mistakenly created by educated travellers and British poets:

And that honoured haughtiness that inspired British genius, which so loved our soil, and so honoured our achievements, claims them for the ashes of the great; and that simple admiration of a rude mind, which venerates in ignorance and shows silently the sepulchre of the one who lived there, rests there, and for so many years has been cherished by all, and somehow offers such ideas of sweetness, that it pains us to have to say it is a complete illusion (Chevalier, 1841, 45–46).²⁴

In fact, as we have already seen, Chevalier's fierce criticism derived largely from a misapprehension of that world, exacerbated by the fact that in that very period profound cultural and political transformations had assailed a community still deeply immersed in its own traditions. It is significant that he, in order to underline the illusion into which George Byron and other British travellers had fallen, goes back to the distant episode of the depredation of the poet's tomb by Friar Tommaso Martinelli and some of the villagers,²⁵ whilst stigmatising other more recent profanations:

And how often did they not plant laurel and cypress trees around the tomb! Always that rude genus, or cut off still tender buds, or uprooted the trunks. The four laurels planted by Chevalier Faujas de Sant-Fond were already, thanks to the care of a gentle soul, luxuriant, and spread their ever-living shade across the sacred tumulus. The insidiousness of those people evaded every protection, and, with sacrilegious hands, they destroyed them in a moment, almost as if they were ashamed of the honour rendered to the great one, whom they are unworthy to have amongst their dead (Chevalier, 1831, 47).²⁶

24 The author cited in his notes the famous excerpt from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* by Byron, in which the latter praised the attention lavished on the poet's ashes by the inhabitants of Arquà: "They keep his dust in Arquà, where he died. The mountain-village where his latter days went down the vale of years; and it's their pride – an honest pride – and let it be their praise, to offer to the passing stranger's gaze his mansion and his sepulcher" (Byron, 1819, 298).

25 "This violation, which, if nothing else, should be attributed to the utter neglect by the inhabitants owing to the difficulty of performing it on a summer night, among so many surrounding houses, was followed not much later by another outrage. From an adjoining house, the bronze head above the sepulchre was used as a target for shots from their harquebuses. And thanks to this game, which was imitated all day with stones thrown by the local boys, the head was crushed in various places and one eye pierced" (Chevalier, 1831, 7).

26 In a note, it was recalled how this happened in 1806, then was added "A new plantation of cypresses and laurels was also made and celebrated in 1824" (Chevalier, 1831, 64).



Fig. 8bis: The centre of Arquà Petrarca represented in a Napoleonic land register from 1810. Indicated with capital letters are the church (A), Petrarch's tomb (C) and the square (B). There is no indication of the old cemetery, where some tombs also stood, which George Byron would mention in the following years, when recalling his first visit to Arquà. (State Archives of Venice).

George Gordon Byron visited Arquà three times between 1817 and 1819.²⁷ Despite not being a great admirer of the poet, he was struck by the strong allure of the place and the sense of solitude, which it conferred on the visitor (Byron, 1819, 298–300).²⁸ In his notes commenting on the poem, Byron entered into more detail about the place hosting the poet's remains:

27 I.e., in April and September 1817 and in September 1819, when he was accompanied by his beloved Teresa Guiccioli (Rognoni, 2006, 60–63).

28 “Verses 30–34 of the fourth canto of Childe Harold - stanzas that would have contributed to making Arquà an almost sine qua non of literary pilgrimage - are beautiful by dint of their calmness, and so successful, I think, precisely because dictated by a moderate and almost cautious enthusiasm [...]: ‘if from society we learn to live’, Arquà is a place suitable for the melancholic, where one can feel that Solitude should teach us how to die” (Rognoni, 2006, 61).

Petrarch is laid, for he cannot be said to be buried, in a sarcophagus of red marble, raised on four pilasters on an elevated base, and preserved from an association with meaner tombs. It stands conspicuously alone, but will be soon overshadowed by four lately planted laurels (Byron, 1819, 403–404).

Byron came to Arquà in the years in which the community was undergoing profound changes. The ark of the great poet held sway over the more humble tombs in the churchyard, where for centuries the villagers had been buried.²⁹ The four laurels surrounding the ark, as we are reminded by Pietro Chevalier, had been planted about a decade earlier. A homage giving rise to the separation of the more modest tumuli of the local people from the ark, a process that in a few years would lead to a complete separation with the building of a new cemetery on the outskirts of the village. During his *Visita* the haughty glance of Chevalier was set on a completely changed landscape: Petrarch's ark rose alone outside the church, in a yard that had become a modest square, which he did not fail to depict in one of his famous engravings.

For centuries, Petrarch's body had lain amongst Arquà dead in symbiosis, which the villagers had certainly considered a natural, obvious, *cultural* reality. During their pastoral visitations, the bishops did not fail to register the high-sounding ark in the midst of the cemetery (ADP-V, XLXI, 45r; LXXXIX, 327r³⁰). It concerned a space where religious and secular dimensions had overlapped for centuries, even if the ecclesiastical authorities, with little success, tried to extend their own jurisdiction, imposing a new discipline (Le Bras, 1979, 54–56).³¹ The oldest parish burial register (APAP-LD, I; [1630–1713]) shows that mostly children and youths were buried in the churchyard, whilst a large number of adults were buried in tombs inside the building, built by confraternities or single families.³²

29 As is known, Petrarch had stated in his will, drafted in 1370, that if he died in Arquà, his body should be buried in a chapel, or in the parish church (Mommsen, 1957). As P. Ariès forcefully pointed out, in medieval language the word church indicated both the buildings and the surrounding space, including the bell tower and the cemetery, even if later the latter term came to mean the area outside the church (Ariès, 1998, 19). The poet therefore intended to be buried in a specific chapel inside the church. Since this had not been built, his body was nevertheless placed inside the building until, six years later, his son-in-law Francescuolo da Brossano had the ark erected right in the middle of the village cemetery. Although in an imposing and distinguished position, the body of Petrarch was placed among the most humble graves, in a sort of religious commune, just as Byron would see it many centuries later.

30 Regarding this last visitation (1747): Bellinati, 1969, 122.

31 Although signs of change begin to appear from the end of the seventeenth century, “we must nevertheless admit that for over a millennium people had felt perfectly at ease in this promiscuity between the living and the dead [...]. [The living] were as familiar with the dead as they were with their own death” (Ariès, 1998, 32–33).

32 Several families (Perazzolo, Callegaro, Pinaffo, Molin and others) had their own tombs in the church, although burial at the altars of the brotherhoods (especially those of the *Beata Vergine del Carmine* and of the *Santissimo Sacramento*) were more common. In the modern age, the confraternities played an important role in assisting the funerals of the members of the more modest classes (Ariès, 1998, 106–107). Burial in church was obviously reserved for members of the brotherhoods, thus generally excluding children under fourteen. It should also be added that the particular nature of the soil made burial in the earth difficult: on the 8th of January 1778, the twenty-five-year-old Giovan Maria Biasiolo was buried in the cemetery “and placed underground down to the level of the mountain mud, since it could not go more than four feet under”. Also in subsequent records it was noted that they had dug down to the “moving mud”, most likely because the parish priest wanted to attest that he had adhered as far as possible to the new regulations issued in that period (APAP-LD, III [1762–1796], for the dates).

The situation began to change due to both an increase in population,³³ and to a new sensitivity, which had emerged regarding health and hygiene, which culminated in the edict of Saint-Cloud (1804) (Tomasi, 2002; Selvafolta, 2007).³⁴ The world of the dead had split from that of the living and, above all the new legislation, even though it was imposed gradually, transferred authority over cemeteries to local municipalities, definitively creating a new and different rapport between sacred and profane.³⁵

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom a strong series of initiatives aimed at regulating burials, moving them outside inhabited areas, were generated relatively late. A regulation appeared in 1811, but was in fact rarely applied, and only from the 1820s was it forbidden to bury within the church, and the removal of cemeteries to uninhabited areas was imposed. Between 1823 and 1825, the Venetian government set up an enquiry to ascertain which communities in the various provinces were actually respecting the new regulation. Called on by the government, the *Delegato provinciale* (Provincial Delegate) of Padua reported in December 1823 that a number of municipalities had not yet prepared the new cemeteries. In fact:

*Regarding the burial of corpses in churches, local authorities assured the Royal Delegation that the problem had been resolved. Just the district of Battaglia, and particularly the municipality of Arquà still left some doubts, whilst despite the repeated prescriptions and encouragements directed to that Commissario, there had not yet been positive compliance allowing complete tranquillity regarding the absence of a practice unfortunately deeply rooted in those parts.*³⁶ (ASV-GV, 2588, LXVII).

The community of Arquà had shown reluctance, if not hostility, towards the new regulations imposed from the outside. But eventually they had to surrender: a new cemetery was built in 1825 and 1826 (APAP-LD, IV [1796–1832]³⁷). Yet during his pastoral visitation to Arquà in 1825, Bishop Farina noted that inhumations took place in the church:

The cemetery is extremely narrow and closed; but corpses are still buried in the church arches. Grass is burnt. The building of a new cemetery has been correctly put to tender (ADP-V, CXIV, 671v).

33 In the pastoral visitation of 1747, 941 inhabitants were registered. Whereas in 1825, there were 1048 (Bel-linati & Fontana, 1988, 18–21): an increase that, in itself, was not enough to justify moving the cemetery.

34 As Ariès argued “a practice that had lasted for almost a millennium without causing any fuss, was no longer tolerated” (Ariès, 1998, 59).

35 “Although the cemetery is not a place of worship, it could be said that it is the place in the village where the most moving worship takes place, perhaps the most frequented [...]. Laicized, the cemetery remains a sacred place” (Le Bras, 1979, 60–61).

36 On the 13th of October of the previous year the *Delegato*, citing the case of Arquà, the only community in the province to persist in the ancient practice of burying in the church, observed, “The ancient cemetery of that place is found to be extremely cramped and unable to host corpses after 1817” (ASV-GV, 2588, LXVII); the dossier contains the correspondence between the Government and the *Delegazione provinciale* (Provincial Delegation) of Padua between September 1823 and April 1824. It is significant that, after only two months, the *Delegato* no longer justified the persistence of the ancient tradition due to the “impossibility” of the cemetery to take new burials.

37 In the summer of 1826, the parish priest began to record the burials in the “new cemetery”. However, with the permission of the *Commissario*, some people were buried in the church even in the following months.



Fig. 9: The issue of *Gazzetta privilegiata di Venezia* of the 6th of June 1843 in which the archpriest of Arquà informed the public about the recent restoration of the ark promoted and financed by Carlo Leoni.

The municipality commission had proposed the Castello area, situated in the higher part of the village, but it turned out not to be fit for purpose.³⁸ And so the new cemetery had to be built on the plain, considerably further from the church and the inhabited area than was required by the new regulations.

A new phase had started. The village church and Petrarch's ark stayed in the space they had shared for centuries, but which henceforth took on a very different complexion. Other protagonists were now entering the village stage, which only a few years earlier George Gordon Byron had seen as still immersed in tradition.

SHORT CIRCUIT

On the 24th of May 1843, a small crowd had gathered outside the parish church of Arquà, around the ark, which for centuries had held Francesco Petrarch's remains. Despite not having been made public, everyone present knew that, at the behest of the young Padua nobleman Carlo Leoni, with the agreement of the village archpriest (parish priest) and representatives of the community, the imposing monument dominating the little village square for centuries was going to be restored.

The events of that late spring morning in 1843 had taken place without any formal permission from the authorities, and as would later become apparent, sparked criticism and suspicion, creating perplexity and opposition from the local notables themselves.³⁹ The suspicion that the operation had been conducted superficially and without due preparation spread fast, creating bad feeling and hostility towards the two main protagonists.

This was probably the reason that a few days later, the archpriest Saltarini troubled himself to inform the *Gazzetta privilegiata di Venezia*, which on the 6th of June 1843 published a brief report, with which the events in the little Euganean village were explicitly and openly brought to the knowledge of the public.⁴⁰

Saltarini began his report, dated the 26th of May, a statement which, above all in the light of what happened next, is important to follow in its major developments, complaining of the lamentable state of the ark, and the need to restore it, which unfortunately the Arquà municipality was unable to satisfy.

Luckily, he added, a wealthy benefactor had intervened, Count Leoni, who had offered to see to the necessary restoration. Now the ark, restored to its original splendour, could be admired by the numerous visitors.

The archpriest then continued by announcing that the ark had had to be opened, offering those present a view of the great poet's remains:

38 As noted by the *Direzione delle pubbliche costruzioni* (Direction of Public Buildings) on the 20th of December 1824, the area "is not suitable for the use it was intended for, given that, beneath a layer of approximately 35 centimetres of mixed earth, live stone is found which leaves no room for excavation" (ASV-GV, 2810, V).

39 How clear it would have appeared in 1848 but also by the judicial investigation itself following the complaint lodged by some people living in Monselice.

40 *Gazzetta privilegiata di Venezia*, 6. 6. 1843: Notizie sul restauro alla tomba del Petrarca, e stato in che si ritrovarono le ceneri di lui, 509–510.

To keep it balanced and to seal the cracks in the urn it was indispensable to raise the lid of the western side. With the stone lifted, we saw the bones of the Great One in this way. At a depth of about two feet, they lay on a naked table of larch, so it was false what some ancient chroniclers said, that they were buried in a double coffin. The skull facing west is very well preserved, somewhat moved from its place and still has twelve teeth: it was in the midst of a large hive of insects, which it was felt opportune to move immediately. The chin bone, about a foot away from the skull had seven teeth. The entire right arm is missing, which we know to have been stolen in 1630; to the violence of that theft must be attributed the shifting of the skull, the chin and almost all the other parts. The bones of the thorax, decomposed and heaped, those of the femur intact and very bleached, and the tibia covered with white linen round it. Almost the whole of the bottom of the table, covered and spread over by a black tunic, which had disintegrated, almost completely disappearing, except for some strips of fabric near the head. Deeper down a blue crust occupied a small space, and could be believed to be the remains of the canonical emblems, with which historians say he was buried.

Curiosity and enthusiasm infected all the onlookers:

Count Leoni removed from those sacred scraps a piece of the tunic mentioned, and gave it straight to the archpriest. This relic, all the more precious (because it showed a number of hairs) to recall the event and the great love jealously conserved in this church hall, will be appropriately protected. At ten thirty on that 24th of May, the urn was opened and then closed a few moments later in the presence of the aforementioned Count Leoni, the sculptor Gradenigo, one of the representatives of the municipality, the undersigned, and not a small number of villagers. The enthusiasm and curiosity of the peasants on seeing the remains was noteworthy, and their veneration, together with requests to be given at least a fragment of the material. But this was not granted. Before closing this brief account, may I be allowed to offer the clearest and most deserved praise and thanks to the uncommon generosity of the illustrious Count Leoni, who with such love wanted to support such a noble and necessary work.

This account by the archpriest Saltarini cleverly dodged the issue of the lack of permission from the appropriate administrative and political authorities and aimed in particular at underlining the advantages gained from restoration of the ancient ark, carried out thanks to the munificence of Count Leoni. The description of the state in which the remains of Francesco Petrarch were found was apparently indispensable, as was the reference to the cleaning of the skull surrounded by a large hive. Saltarini went on by underlining that the ark had been quickly closed again, despite the curiosity shown by the peasants who had rushed to witness the event. And to conclude, it referred, in passing, to Count Leoni entrusting him



Fig. 10: A lithograph by Antonio Dalola depicting the event of the opening of the ark in May 1843 upon Carlo Leoni's initiative. In the background, next to Leoni, Archpriest Saltarini and sculptor Antonio Gradenigo are portrayed. The drawing, probably made at a later time, was perhaps aimed at relieving the Paduan count of responsibility. (Civic Library of Padua).

with a small strip of the tunic conserved on the larch table placed at the bottom of the ark.⁴¹

During the following summer, the archpriest's account was taken up by many newspapers of the time, thus reinforcing an account that should have allayed any suspicion or diffidence regarding what occurred on the 24th of May 1843 (*La Moda*, 10. 06. 1843, 251–252; *La Farfalla*, 14. 06. 1843; *Il Vaglio. Giornale di scienze, lettere, arti*, 1. 7. 1843, 207; *Il Felsineo*, 16. 8. 1843, 86–87).

In fact, criticism had inevitably arisen; and was focused above all on Carlo Leoni, who had evidently played an important role in the opening of the tomb. Already the

41 On the tunic, he added, “a number of hairs” were found. A detail that, as we will see, is not insignificant for the purposes of the hypothesis formulated in these pages, also because it was not the upper part of a tunic, but actually a black hood that had been placed on the poet's head at the time of his burial.

previous year Leoni had publicly manifested his clear interest in the Petrarchan ark (Leoni, 1842, 127–128) and it cannot have been difficult to obtain the collaboration of the sculptor Antonio Gradenigo,⁴² or that of the archpriest Saltarini.

That opening, conducted with some stealth, had elicited a certain surprise and diffidence. A none too veiled criticism arrived on the 25th of June 1843 from an anonymous letter to *La Moda*, which had published Saltarini's account a few days earlier.⁴³ Referring to the “egregious young person” who had sponsored the restoration, the anonymous polemicist insinuated above all how no man of science had taken part (*La Moda*, 25. 6. 1843, 276–277).

But there was more disapproval, which, even if not made publicly, appeared to put into question the entire operation carried out on the 24th of May 1843. Carlo Leoni possessed a noble mansion and an estate in Arquà,⁴⁴ but being a citizen of Padua, having a title and contacts had definitely not been enough to overcome the diffidence, if not hostility of the local elite (Millocca, 2005). The collaboration obtained from the archpriest and probably of some representatives of the community had been insufficient to overcome the criticism towards an operation that had clearly gone beyond its original aims.

In this light, one can understand why a little later there followed the publication of his volume of *Memorie* dedicated to the life of Petrarch, *Vita di Petrarca* (Leoni, 1843). Surprisingly, the literato from Padua did not mention directly the recent restoration of the ark, which he had financed. Instead, he focused at length on the previous violation of the sepulchre, committed by Martinelli in 1630, citing what he claimed was a document he had found himself in the municipal archives of Arquà, stating decisively that the bones removed on that occasion were being kept in Madrid.

Leoni's *Memorie* were, however, followed by an appendix, distinguished by a significant title: *Pochi cenni intorno alla ristorazione della tomba di Petrarca* (A few details about the restoration of Petrarch's tomb) (Meneghelli, 1843a), written by Antonio Meneghelli, one of the most noted Petrarch scholars of the time (Chiancone, 2009), a text apparently meant to justify and glorify Leoni's undertaking, refuting any criticism of him.

Meneghelli, in his exposition, clearly followed what, several months earlier, the archpriest had revealed about the restoration and the state of the poet's remains. But, then, he inserted several significant variations:

Amongst the operations required for a complete reparation was that of balancing the urn which had bent somewhat, and closing the cracks. It was thus necessary to lift the lid, showing the immortal's bones. It is hard to describe the effects on the

42 Antonio Gradenigo (1806–1884) collaborated with the architect G. Jappelli and was active above all in Veneto as a carver and modeller (Cannarsa, 2002).

43 The anonymous reader, who called himself an associate of the magazine, wrote from Milan on the 20th of June 1843.

44 The current Casa Mentasti, located in the highest part of the village, just above Piazza San Marco (Crispino et al., 2012, 76).

onlookers, quite numerous, seeing that as well as the archpriest, the municipality commission, Leoni and Gradenigo there were over forty people. We are happy to note this circumstance to show that with so many witnesses the sepulchre could not be violated, and that only the desire to poison such admirable works can have given credit to such ridiculous rumours (Meneghelli, 1843a, V).

Contesting its foundation, Antonio Meneghelli therefore clearly acknowledged the suspicion that had immediately arisen of a possible violation of the poet's remains. But, apparently, he could not avoid referring to an episode, which the archpriest had been careful not to mention in his account published in the *Gazzetta*:

Furthermore, we can add that the fervent requests by many who wanted a strip of the almost completely worn out tunic were resisted with the utmost firmness. Perhaps we should have wanted a similar jealousy regarding a rib bone, which, on removing the hive, was found detached from the rest of the skeleton, but it was thought best to place it in a sealed container, make the parish priest the depository, and so have the advantage that those who visit the place may venerate at least a fragment, as it is not allowed to see the entire body (Meneghelli, 1843a, VI–VII).

Most probably, Meneghelli merely acknowledged a fact clearly known to all those present at the opening, but which had been intentionally withheld by the archpriest in his account. In such a way, he aimed to thwart any criticism of Leoni's undertaking, all the more, as has been seen, because the removed rib entrusted to the parish priest could be admired by the visitors who periodically came to admire the poet's ark.

The illustrious Petrarch scholar, however, went much further in his celebratory and defensive action regarding Carlo Leoni's work. In the notes to his *Pochi cenni*, he quoted the account sent to the *Gazzetta Veneta* by the Arquà archpriest the preceding 6th of June, but, significantly, added some passages that were not in it. After the description of the state of the poet's remains, he went on:

On removing the hive, a large rib bone and a piece of the tunic were found in it; all this was immediately given to me and sealed. This relic (made more precious due to the presence of a number of hairs), to recall the event and due to its jealously conserved rarity, will be kept in an appropriate place. A written report of everything above was made on the same day and signed by the named witnesses (Meneghelli, 1843a, X).

Thus Meneghelli introduced into the archpriest's account news of the removal of the rib bone, which seems to have been enclosed in the large hive, which had to be removed to clean the skull. It also omitted that brief passage where the parish priest claimed that the ark had been quickly closed again, significant changes, which seem to be supported by the presumed existence of a written record signed

by witnesses present at the tomb's opening.⁴⁵ The intervention from the illustrious Petrarch scholar should have prevented any literary or journalistic criticism, but above all was meant to stop the dangerous judicial initiative that began after the ark's opening.

THE JUDICIAL TRUTH

On the 7th of June 1843 some persons resident in Monselice made a report to the local magistrate, complaining that on the previous 24th of May Francesco Petrarch's ark had been opened, with the ensuing dispersal of some of the great poet's bones (ASV-GV, 6888, LXXIX).⁴⁶ In their opinion, there had been a *grave trasgressione di polizia* – a serious illegal action – on the basis of violation of the norm of the 20th of October 1838 regarding burials and inhumations.⁴⁷ As the accusation had been levelled the day following the publication of the letter from the archpriest of Arquà in the *Gazzetta Veneta*, it is very probable that both initiatives, whilst having different motivations, were sparked by rumours emerging after the opening of the ark.

The Monselice magistrates entrusted the *Commissario distrettuale*⁴⁸ (District Commissioner) of Battaglia to open an investigation, and on the following 27th of June informed the Governmental authorities of what had happened, whilst requesting that the judicial process should be given to another district. That from the beginning the case was extremely delicate was explicitly recognised by the government authorities themselves, who, on the 2nd of July 1843, applying to the *Delegato provinciale* in Padua to gain more information, recommended extreme caution:

As, furthermore, it concerned a matter attracting public attention due to the sort of veneration which over five centuries civilised people had been rendering to the Petrarchan tomb. (ASV-PG, 1054, I).

The recommendation was accepted by the *Delegato*, who made a detailed summary of the matter. The notion of restoring the ark had already been proposed in the summer of 1842, but the necessary funds had not been found to do so. Therefore:

45 They are also named in the judicial investigation. Very probably, however, these were signatures affixed as a seal, which is also spoken of at the time of the 1855 replacement.

46 The story emerges from the correspondence between the *Presidio di Governo* (Government Presidency), the *Governo* (Government) and the *Delegato* of Padua Antonio Gröller. The complaint and other documentation are summarized in the respective reports. On the administrative organization of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom: Tonetti, 1997 and, for a more general picture, Meriggi, 1987.

47 Provided for by the second part of the Austrian criminal code (*Codice de' delitti e delle gravi trasgressioni politiche*) of 1815, the serious police transgressions were essentially crimes of lesser gravity, the responsibility of the magistrates and which on appeal were judged by the Government (Codice, 1815, part II, 1–182; Manzatto, 2007).

48 The figure of the *Commissario distrettuale*, at the base of the administrative structure of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, also played an important role in terms of social control and in connection with local institutions (Rossetto, 2013).



Fig. 10bis: Detail of the lithograph by Antonio Dalola produced to remember the opening financed by Carlo Leoni in 1843. (Civic Library of Padua).

same account, the *Delegato* clarified that, in order to go on with the restoration, the “lid” of the ark had been removed:

Those functionaries affirmed that during the work, it having become necessary to lift somewhat the lid of the tomb, the onlookers noticed that a large hornets’ nest had formed around the poet’s skull, so it was decided to lift the lid itself, in order to remove those insects, who with their presence were ever more harming the venerable remains. On the same occasion a rib was removed which had become detached from the corpse, along with a piece of tunic, which the archpriest kept with him with the intent to conserve it in order to satisfy, as he says, the desires of the visitors to Arquà (ASV-GV, 6888, LXXIX).

The *Delegato* observed however, that in his judgement, it was not possible to assume a violation of the norms regarding burials and inhumations, inasmuch as there lacked the two requirements necessary for this:

The first is lacking because the tomb is not in a church or oratory, but in the square near the church of Arquà, as has been wisely observed by the Government Presidency. The second is lacking because one cannot call dispersal, as understood by the law, the removal of a rib in order for it to constitute a relic sacred to the history of letters (ASV-GV, 6888, LXXIX).

In the current year the noble Count Leoni, man of letters and lover of fine arts, spending a large part of the year in Arquà, was sorry that for this reason the celebrated monument would be denied the necessary repairs, and had the generous idea of having it done at his own expense, through the work of the well-known sculptor Gradenigo Antonio and with the knowledge and agreement of the municipality commission and the local parish priest (ASV-GV, 6888, LXXIX).

Indeed, this was what had already been confirmed by Don Giacomo Saltarini. But then, whilst continuing the

A good and proper subterfuge this was, also designed to sustain the secular character of the former churchyard, which was now a square. The *Delegato* was of the opinion that illegal action had not taken place. But if, on the one side one had to thank Leoni for his work, on the other it still seemed opportune to “point out the irregularity of the decision taken”. And he concluded that the *Commissario* would be entrusted to check:

To find out if any other piece of the covering or of the illustrious corpse had been taken, of which the Regia pretura (District Court) of Monselice had shown some suspicions in its report, and then to recuperate it⁴⁹ (ASV-GV, 6888, LXXIX).

On the 29th of July 1843 the Veneto Government definitively closed the judicial procedure, accepting almost entirely the *Delegato*’s version, but regarding Count Leoni, the *Relatore* (a member of the Government) Francesco Beltrame⁵⁰ observed:

With the intimate satisfaction of having done something praiseworthy and precious for those who appreciate the glory of the famous genius, and the publicly expressed admiration, he obtained a reward which was to him most gratifying. And regarding the criticism of the decision taken, not to he who was present as a member of the public, but to the Municipality and the parish priest who intervened in their role as public officials, the following reprimand, which I propose to issue in the name of the government, is due (ASV-GV, 6888, LXXIX).

The judicial process thus concluded in the wake of the literary, praising the work of Carlo Leoni. The official version was definitively affirmed. There was still, however, the rib bone in the parish sacristy: a relic destined to exacerbate the tensions between Leoni and some of the Arquà notables.⁵¹

In the years following, the Paduan Count tried to move the remains to his own city,⁵² inevitably raising the hostility of the local elite. Tensions reached the surface in 1848, when one of the members of the Municipality, Giovanni Maria Callegari turned to the ministry of education and religion of the provisional government, recalling the *violation* of 1843 (ASV-GPV, 14, 5736). Callegari, a member of an important family that had tenaciously opposed Leoni’s undertaking, did not mince words when claiming the community’s prerogative, resolutely contesting not only

49 Doubts that apparently emerged from the same complaint presented on the 7th of June 1843.

50 Beltrame was honorary member of the Academy of Fine Arts of Venice and ordinary member of the *Ateneo Veneto* (Almanacco, 1843, 238).

51 The following year Leoni published his *Historical Works*, but in the chapter dedicated to Arquà and Petrarch’s tomb, he added nothing to what he had already written in the previous memoirs (Leoni, 1844, 205–207).

52 In 1846, the municipality of Padua ordered a small bronze model, made to scale, of Petrarch’s ark, which should have been used as a sort of reliquary to preserve the poet’s rib. Ironically, it was instead the small urn that, in 1922, was to be finally deposited among the Petrarchan reliques in Arquà.



Fig. 11: Model of the ark built at the initiative of Carlo Leoni to house the poet's rib removed in May 1843, which was to be transferred to Padua. (Civic Library of Padua).

the official version channelled through Meneghelli, but also the judicial process endorsed by the Austrian authorities in the summer of 1843.⁵³

The new social and political climate had therefore made evident that notables, who over the following decades would enter social networks on a larger scale, explicitly claimed the prerogatives of the community, and who, before being socially the most significant, became its authentic spokesmen.

A NEW RESTING PLACE IN 1855

Leoni's repeated attempts to move the Petrarchan relic deposited in the rectory at Arquà to Padua fuelled tensions with some members of the local elite, who, in their turn fought for the rib bone to be replaced in the ark. It was definitely these tensions that pushed the Paduan Count to take a personal position in a matter that

53 The letter is dated the 10th of May 1848.



Fig. 12: The Arquà Petrarca town square with the tomb, in a drawing dating from around the mid-19th century. (Civic Library of Padua).

seemed to become more and more dangerous and embarrassing. In April 1853 an article of his entitled *La tomba del Petrarca in Arquà* (Petrarch's tomb in Arquà),⁵⁴ appeared in *L'educatore*, in which after confronting the distant depredation of 1630, he focused for the first time on the controversial restoration of 1843.

His historical introduction started inevitably with the 1630 depredation, recalling the phantomatic parchment present in the Arquà archives and the false news that the relics had ended up in the royal museum of Madrid, an introduction that Leoni used to confront, perhaps despite himself, the thorny subject of the 1843 restoration and the fear of the rib that had been removed being placed somewhere else. As he recalled, profoundly moved on seeing the relics:

Transported by such worthy emotion, I was unable to stop myself from plucking a piece of the envied relics to the visible comfort of his admirers and as a public remembrance of the event. It was a large rib bone and a piece of tunic, in front of over thirty witnesses, that I consigned to the archpriest G. Saltarini; and a

54 The piece reiterated what had already appeared in 1842 (Leoni, 1842).

written record having been made, everything was sealed with a triple seal, the parish, the municipality and the Commissario, as it still is today.⁵⁵

So Carlo Leoni decided to intervene regarding the events of the 24th of May 1843, even though he was unable to avoid the reopening of the ark.⁵⁶ On the 10th of July 1855, the municipality authorities and the *Commissario* of Monselice⁵⁷ proceeded privately to put back the poet's rib bone, kept by the current parish priest, Gaetano Cerchiari (ASV-DPA, 684, 5863).⁵⁸ In such a way, the controversial matter of the opening in May 1843 seemed definitively over, and we may assume that Count Leoni heaved a sigh of relief.⁵⁹

THE STATEMENT OF FERDINANDO MORONI

In *Le ossa di Francesco Petrarca*, Giovanni Canestrini spoke also of earlier openings of the ark, writing an accurate historical account. In particular, the one in 1855 could be reconstructed thanks to the statement of the Monselice doctor, Ferdinando Moroni, present on the occasion with an important role, although the ark had been reopened to replace, more simply, what had been removed in 1843, to be then consigned to the village archpriest.⁶⁰ It is worth examining this statement as it furnishes some important information regarding 1843. From the outset, Moroni immediately recalled the events of thirty years earlier:

55 Leoni did not yet reveal that he was in possession of the fragments of the hood that, in the autumn of 1873, he decided to donate to representatives of the Italian cultural scene. Neither that he had proudly lifted the poet's skull.

56 In October 1854, he wrote, "I have returned to Arquà where I had not been for ten years. I also aimed to induce those discourteous folk to finally accede to my vow and hand over Petrarch's rib to the Municipality of Padua as had been promised at the time of the tomb's restoration, but they repeatedly refused. But I was unable to conclude anything, the *Deputati*, the archpriest and private individuals persisting in their refusal, wanting it to be replaced in the grave, a foolish and strange thing. Here is what I got from doing well. In that restoration I spent over 1000 *svanziche* and endured endless harassment" (Leoni, 1976, 495–496).

57 Under whose jurisdiction Arquà fell after the suppression of the *Commissario* of Battaglia following the reorganization of the districts carried out with the *Sovrana Risoluzione* (Emperor's Order) of the 28th of January 1853, followed by the order of the Ministry of the Interior on the 7th of May 1853 (Bollettino delle leggi e degli atti del Governo della Venezia, 1853, allegato al N. 80, VI, I, 96–97).

58 The file contains the report of the operation to replace the rib and the report of the *Commissario* of Monselice of the 24th of July 1855 in which the *Delegazione* was informed that in accordance with the decree issued on the 30th of October 1854 and with the consent of the municipal delegation of Arquà, action to restore "the remains of Petrarch removed in 1843" to the tomb had been undertaken privately.

59 He recorded the event in his *Cronaca segreta* (Leoni, 1976, 501).

60 Moroni observed that he witnessed the opening "not in an official capacity, nor for a scientific purpose, but only to contemplate for the very short time they were visible, those precious remains that still resisted the destructive power of five centuries" (Canestrini, 1874b, 8). As Canestrini pointed out, Moroni, who had collaborated with him at the opening, subsequently sent him a letter, dated the 28th of December 1873, along with the report drawn up on the occasion of the relocation. A letter clearly sought by the anthropologist, enabling him to account for what had happened previously.



Fig. 13: Petrarch's tomb in a watercolour by Filippo Ortolani, produced in 1872. (Civic Library of Padua).

The generous work of Leoni created complaint and criticism, the monument having been opened without any authorisation, official observation or solemnity. And there were indeed profanations: a tooth, a strip of the tunic taken, and the rib bone in question by the archpriest, a certain Saltarini (Canestrini, 1874b, 7–8).

Ferdinando Moroni, just like the son of the engineer Belzoni, who was present on the occasion, was to do considerably later,⁶¹ gave a very different description from the official one given by Antonio Meneghelli. The Monselice doctor recalled the following opening of the 10th of July 1855, at which he had been more than a mere witness. On that occasion, he told how the skeleton was found in the same state as it was to appear later, in 1873, but with some substantial differences:

61 Guido Belzoni recalled many years later that it was “on that occasion that a rib from the skeleton was detached and stolen, it is not known how and by whom, but apparently by some ill-intentioned people who rushed up in the throng of curious onlookers, rather than to see anything, hoping to be able to remove some usable keepsake. And together with the rib, a strip of tunic which had survived the mayhem with other remains was also taken” (Belzoni, 1941, 221).



*Fig. 14: Drawing reproducing a watercolour by Bartolomeo Belzoni, depicting the opening of the ark in December 1873. In: Belzoni, G. (1941): *Uno scienziato trentino alla ricognizione della tomba del Petrarca*.*

However, the skull had slipped from the larch table, to the western left-hand corner, and the lower cheekbone a good distance, amongst the pelvic bones. I was allowed to adapt it to its articular cavities, and rest the head where we found it. Doing this, I saw some red hairs fall from the occiput and I admired the consistency and completeness of the skull bones, except for a few missing teeth, most of them upper ones [...] The colour of the skull was blackish [...] its conformation regular in every part and notable the extension of the cavity I deduced from the surface of the face. Handling it, I assured myself of its solidity and have no doubt that it would have completely satisfied your sapient research (Canestrini, 1874b, 8–9).⁶²

62 Moroni then continued: “I thought then that the decomposition, more noticeable in the upper half of the skeleton, was derived from a hand or instrument rummaging through with which part of the right arm was removed from the corresponding corner of the tomb, which was reshaped to a pyramidal shape and then put back, as it is today. Perhaps the head, which the thief wanted, escaped by rolling and stopping at the opposite end of that side, and could no longer be grasped or removed. This shape would be difficult to grasp, the width and depth of the sepulchre such that not even a long arm would have been able to reach it, and finally the insufficiency or at least the narrowness of the hole that had been made. The design of the tomb and the various dimensions of it and of the aforesaid hole encourage this hypothesis, which is not, to my mind, improbable, if one considers that the head had to interest more than the arm those who dared to stretch out their hand on that revered tomb, and failing at the first attempt instead resorted to the long bones of the nearest limb” (Canestrini, 1874b, 9–10). An explanation, the latter, that would be repeatedly used, even later, since the trial dossier against Martinelli and his accomplices in 1630–1631 was not yet known. Moroni, unlike Canestrini, does not seem to know the picture made in 1843, in which the skull is placed in the original position.

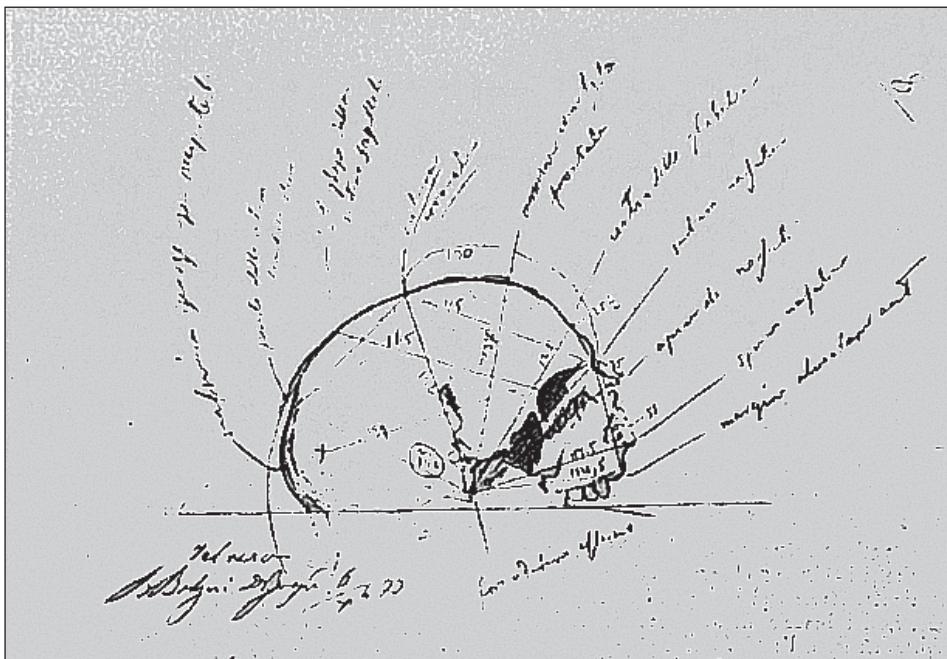


Fig. 15: Drawing of the skull preserved in the ark, produced by Bartolomeo Belzoni in December 1873. In: Belzoni, G. (1941): *Uno scienziato trentino alla cognizione della tomba del Petrarca*.

It is legitimate to question the skull's solidity, as asserted by Moroni. Considering that the doctor had, in fact, simply grasped it in order to replace it in its exact position, it is probable that such an assertion aimed to confirm the hypothesis of its presumed authenticity, later affirmed by Canestrini (Canestrini, 1874b, 44).⁶³

As has been seen, in his work the anthropologist paid ample attention to the events of 1843, focusing in particular on the account of Meneghelli. Furthermore, he cited part of a letter that Carlo Leoni had sent him on the 9th of December 1873. As we have already seen, Leoni had followed from a distance the execution of an operation that must have aroused strong emotions in him. Also to the Paduan Count the question of the skull seemed decisive, but probably in the light of its subsequent falling apart, he had no hesitation in dealing with the question directly furnishing an account made known only to a few of his intimates:

63 In any case, the anthropologist, in his work, did not hide the doubts that had spread following the opening of 1843: "From the considerations set out in previous chapters we can draw some arguments in favour of the authenticity of the skull that we have studied and illustrated. I have heard some doubts about this authenticity, but I do not believe that such doubts are founded on good reasons" (Canestrini, 1874b, 81).

When on the morning of the 24th of May 1843 the tomb was opened, I alone took and held the exquisite, large skull⁶⁴, and I showed it to the crowd, despite it missing the chin which due to the shaking during the 1630 theft, when the entire right arm was extracted (whilst the chronicles mention only the right shoulder) had fallen to the place shown in the drawing. In the skull I counted 13 teeth, naturally upper ones, not having been able due to the ladder being too distant, to take the chin and count the teeth. The skull was excellently preserved and showed no sign of disintegration, to the extent that having lightly tapped it with the knuckle of my index finger, it echoed as being perfectly intact in all its parts. This I can solemnly and unequivocally attest, with full knowledge and a clear conscience (Canestrini, 1874b, 6).⁶⁵

For the first time in public, Leoni made explicit his interest in the poet's skull, if only to affirm its solidity, forcing Canestrini onto the defensive. In fact, on that occasion, he also added some details, which threw a certain light onto his behaviour and the role he had played during the 1843 opening.

THE DRAWING

Antonio Meneghelli had not just furnished an official account of the events of May 1843. Complementing his *Pochi cenni*, he had also put in a "faithful drawing" obtained from a lithograph of the sculptor Antonio Gradenigo that showed the "State of Francesco Petrarch's bones on the 24th of May 1843".⁶⁶

The drawing was supposed to depict clearly what had been seen by the onlookers after the ark's opening. Indeed, one could clearly see the large hive that had occupied the upper part of the skeleton and the sticks inserted in the cracks suffered in the wake of the 1630 depredation.⁶⁷ In his account, the archpriest stated that

64 In 1853, Leoni spoke of a "broad, white skull". It is possible that that 'white' had dropped out, as it was clear that, in the examination carried out on the 6th of December 1873, the colour was very different, and "the skull had a blackish colour, both inside and outside" (Canestrini, 1874b, 44). And Moroni himself, in his letter to Canestrini, had recalled how, in 1855, "the colour of the skull was blackish" (Canestrini, 1874b, 9). Another incongruity comes from the number of teeth, even if the indications are rather generic and Canestrini surprisingly gives no information about this. Saltarini reported, "the skull facing the west is very well preserved, somewhat displaced from its original place and still supplied with twelve teeth". Moroni, on the other hand, recalled how in 1855 he had been able to admire "the consistency and integrity of the cranial bones, except for some missing teeth, most of them upper ones" (Canestrini, 1874b, 9).

65 The anthropologist responded immediately to Leoni, noting the inaccuracies of the latter regarding the bones taken in 1630.

66 Perhaps Meneghelli noticed some differences from what was attested by the archpriest, and he wrote, "The examination of the state of the entire skeleton was extremely accurate; the most faithful drawing was made, a drawing that Leoni offers to the public with the lithograph by Prosperini. These measures make needless any mention of it, recalling that Horatian sentence that things subjected to the public gaze speak with much more eloquence than do paintings painted with words" (Meneghelli, 1843a, VII). As noted by G. Belloni, not all editions of Leoni's work with Meneghelli's appendix show this drawing (Belloni, 1983, 109).

67 Cracks that, with the restoration, were then definitively closed to prevent the entry of insects.

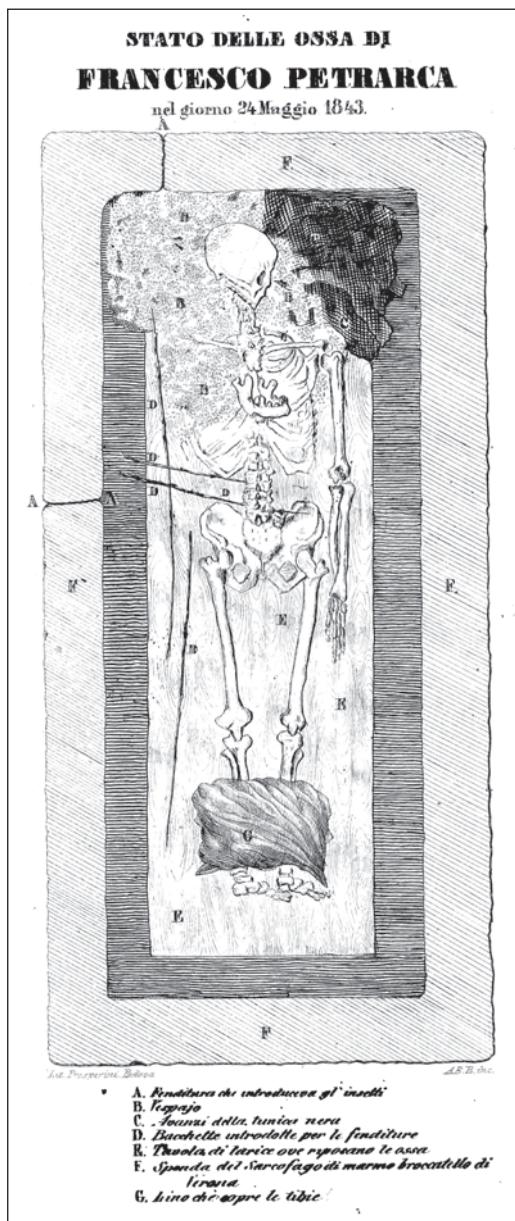


Fig. 16: Drawing of the skeleton of Francesco Petrarca, produced by Antonio Gradenigo and published in the Appendix by Antonio Meneghelli to Memorie by Carlo Leoni (1843).

“the cranium facing west is very well preserved, having moved somewhat from its original place”, whilst “the chinbone about a foot away from the skull has seven teeth”. The mandible is, in fact, clearly visible in the position indicated by Saltarini, even if the skull, facing west, seems to be in its original position and in part seems to be surrounded by the hive. That this did not represent an imprecision by Gradenigo would be indirectly affirmed later by Carlo Leoni himself, who would recall how he had picked up the poet’s skull to show it to the crowd that had gathered, finally replacing it in its original position.⁶⁸

In the same year, 1843, the *Museo scientifico, letterario ed artistico* reviewed⁶⁹ Leoni’s *Memorie* (*Museo scientifico, letterario ed artistico*, 5, 36, 287–288). The same edition of the magazine again featured Meneghelli’s intervention with the higher sounding title *Intorno al restauro della tomba di Petrarca* (Regarding the restoration of Petrarch’s tomb). Gradenigo’s drawing was shown again, probably with a new lithograph, but without referring to the archpriest’s account, and with some significant differences.⁷⁰

As we shall see, that picture hid a truth that the subsequent closure of the ark seemed to have deprived to future generations. Along with Meneghelli’s official version, it, firstly, was meant to show what had been done in the remote 1630, supposedly by Friar Tommaso Martinelli; but Gradenigo had actually reproduced what he had seen in the moment he had been able to see the inside of the ark, immediately after Leoni, at the height of his enthusiasm and excitement, had raised the skull in order to show it to the onlookers gathered in front of the church.

THE POET’S CHIN

Carlo Leoni referred to the picture by Gradenigo, inserted by Meneghelli in his *Pochi cenni*. Canestrini had examined the picture, but with his scientific approach had given a merely generic description of it.⁷¹ In fact, if he had examined some of the details more carefully, he could have seen that the picture differed both from the description given by the archpriest Saltarini, and the account of Ferdinando Moroni himself.

The priest, indeed, had written that the skull had “moved somewhat from its original place”, whilst the “chinbone was about a foot away from the skull”. But if, in Gradenigo’s picture, the mandible is placed above the ribcage, in fact the skull, despite reclining, is

68 An episode that would be taken up again.

69 Review attributed to “a learned and impartial writer”.

70 Meneghelli writes about the already published *Memorie* of Leoni. Gradenigo’s picture appears sharper and, in general, faithful to the first version. He modified, however, the previous comment, writing only: “The examination of the state of the whole skeleton was very accurate and the following picture was made of it” (Meneghelli, 1843b, 241–242): he omitted, significantly that *faithful* used previously, as well as the next sentence; this new intervention was published on the 5th of August 1843 and, later, with a slightly different title, also in the widely disseminated magazine *Poliorama pittoresco* (Meneghelli, 1844).

71 “Count Leoni had a picture of Petrarch’s bones done in 1843 by Gradenigo, a picture he calls very precise. However, I must point out that the picture itself is such that it can offer a precise *general idea* of the state of the bones at that time, but leaves much to be desired in the *details*” (Canestrini, 1874b, 7).

STATO DELLE OSSA DI FRANCESCO PETRARCA

nel giorno 24 maggio 1845

INTORNO AL RISTAURO DELLA TOMBA DI PETRARCA

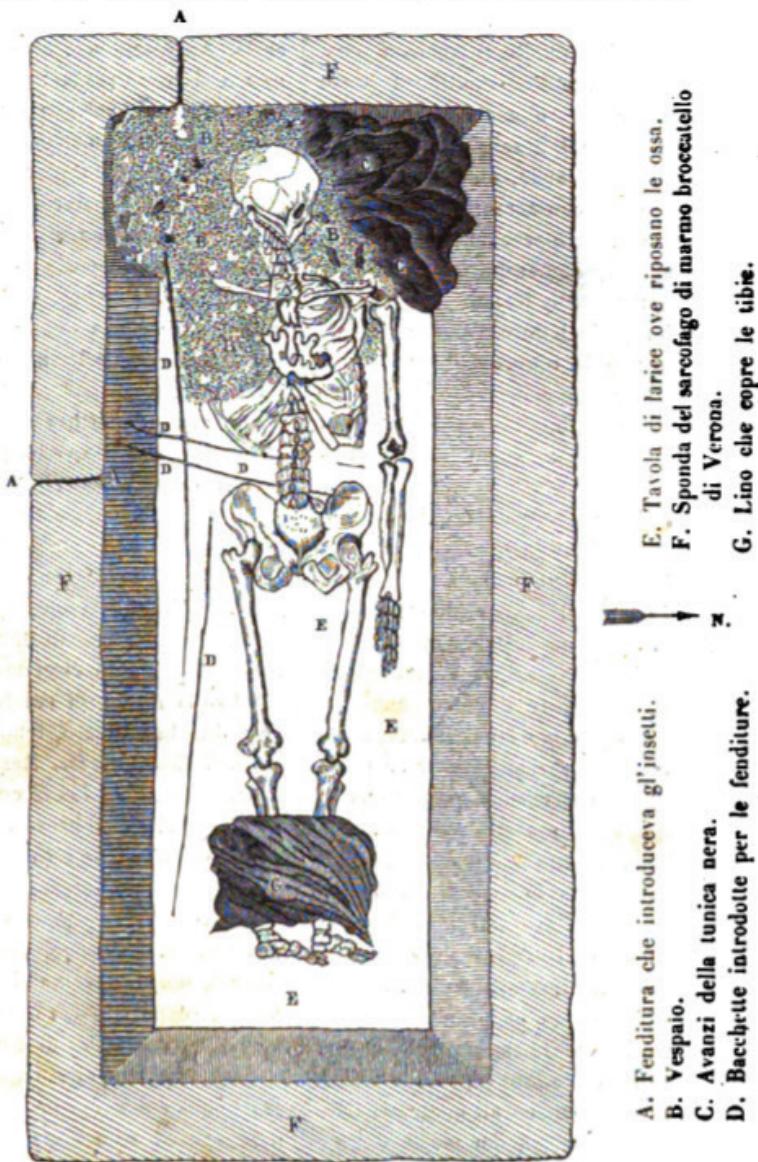


Fig. 17: Drawing of the skeleton of Francesco Petrarch, produced by Antonio Gradenigo and published by Antonio Meneghelli in the journal *Museo scientifico, letterario e artistico* (1843).

in its original position. As already seen, this was not a mistake by the painter, as can be deduced by some of the statements by Carlo Leoni himself many years later, even though Canestrini might not have known:

My heart shook as I mounted the steps; but what was my joy when I actually saw the glorious bones and the full, white skull which seemed to await a charitable hand to put it back in place; the predatory impact of 1630 had broken up all the upper part of the skeleton, as shown by the lithograph I had made. On seeing the venerated relics, I shuddered, and I seemed to see before me 14th century Italy with all its glories and misadventures. An aroma of the past intoxicated me [...] it seemed I was talking to them [...] trembling I brought my hand to the glorious skull, I raised it so all could see saying here is Petrarch's skull, and with that sacred terror derived from touching venerated things I contemplated it, then I put it back in its original place at the centre of the western side, where it will be for ever and ever, until it wakes to the sound of the angelic trumpet. Oh friend, that was the crowning moment of my life.⁷²

Thus, Petrarch's skull had been restored to its original position by Leoni himself, shortly after the opening of the ark and his resounding show of excitement; and, in this position, it was evidently drawn by Gradenigo. The fact that in his letter to Canestrini, he referred to holding the poet's skull, whilst the inaccessible mandible had remained in position, as described by the archpriest, probably suggests that he was aware of a possible objection in respect to the description of the picture. But in his reply to the letter written by Leoni on the 9th of December 1873, as we have already seen, the anthropologist from Trent was unable or unwilling to point out to his correspondent how, regarding the position of the skull and the jaw, there existed clear discrepancies between the picture and what had been related by Ferdinando Moroni in 1855.

The Monselice doctor had indeed testified, "the skull had slipped from the larch table, to the western left-hand corner, and the lower cheekbone to a good distance amongst the pelvic bones". In fact, as already seen, Gradenigo's picture showed the skull in its exact position. The mandible, conversely, in 1855 was placed amongst the pelvic bones, in a very different position from the one described by the archpriest, and shown in the picture.

What is likely to have happened, then, in 1843? In light of the statements and contradictions emerging between 1843 and 1873, it is more than likely that someone, during the restoration sponsored by Leoni and before the ark was definitively closed, had gained possession of the poet's skull and replaced it with another, throwing the mandible, probably in great haste, into the ark.⁷³

Moroni's description, and also what emerged in May 1843, may be better understood if we go back to the far off depredation in 1630, which was to be amply

72 The letter, dated the 20th of June 1867 and addressed to a friend, Prof. G. L., was cited by G. Guerzoni in his Preface to *Epigrafi e prose edite ed inedite* by Leoni (Guerzoni, 1879, LVIII–LIX).

73 This is also attested by the different colour of the skull as found in 1855 and 1873.

documented at the end of the 19th century, thanks to the recovery of the trial by Andrea Moschetti (Moschetti, 1898–1899, 231–247).

Carlo Leoni, like all the other 19th century commentators attributed the moving of the cranium to the clumsy intrusion of an instrument by the Dominican friar Tommaso Martinelli, who had supposedly tried to snatch the prize he longed for. In fact, as we have seen, the author of the depredation had used a billhook to reach, with difficulty, the bones of the poet's right arm. And obviously none of those commentators knew that in order to discover the extent of the theft, the judge assigned to the trial had ordered the entire skeleton be moved from the ark. As they also did not know that the extraction and subsequent replacement was done by introducing a small boy into the ark, through the wide hole made by the authors of the depredation of the 27th of May 1630.⁷⁴

It is likely that the moving of the cranium and detachment of the mandible, uncovered in 1843, happened unexpectedly whilst being put back in place, very probably by the lad as he was coming out of the ark.

The findings of 1630 provide other interesting details. The meticulous description of the judge focused on the poet's skull. It is worth citing this piece:

The head of the deceased was seen to have hairs attached in the form of a mop of honest length, thin, red and curly, seeming from their beauty those of a living creature, there having also been found a small black hood round the head and a quantity of white skin, believed to be the amice⁷⁵ and a piece of white material (ASP-M, P454X, 13, 4rv).

Francesco Petrarch's head was therefore covered by a small black hood, which is almost certainly the *tunic* erroneously referred to in the subsequent statements in the 19th century.⁷⁶ And, as shown by Gradenigo's picture, this small hood had been moved, along with the cranium, to the left of the skeleton. A not insignificant detail, because, as the archpriest Saltarini noted, the red hairs were attached to the *tunic*, as noted also by Moroni in 1855, on

74 A detail already mentioned, in his *Petrarcha redivivus*, by Tomasini, who, having apparently been able to consult the trial wrote in this regard: “However, there being no certainty that nothing was missing, a boy, who had been introduced into the tomb with the help of the court official, pulled out the table on which the bones were placed. After placing the latter on a blanket to inspect them, it was observed that the humerus and scapula were missing; a precise calculation of the number of smaller bones was not possible. After doing this, everything was restored to its original place by the court official” (Tomasini, 1635, 189).

75 The term *amice* is used to designate a lined hood combined with a small cape, used in choral functions by the clergy of cathedrals or collegiate churches, as a sign of their ecclesiastical rank (Boerio, 1829, 730; Battaglia, 1961, 344; Piccolo Paci, 2008, 334). Petrarch was, from 1350, canon of the cathedral of Padua (Dondi-Orologio, 1805, 148–149).

76 There is no trace, in the 1630 findings, of the presence of the tunic. Saltarini, on the other hand, reported that “almost the entire bottom of the table was covered and plastered with a black tunic, which was almost reduced to dust and had practically disappeared except for some strips near the head”. And also in the captions of Gradenigo's picture a tunic is mentioned, but referring to the upper part corresponding to the hood. The findings seem to attest irrefutably that it was a black hood, which probably was not an integral part of the poet's tunic, of which, after centuries, only meagre traces remained.

the poet's head.⁷⁷ A number of these hairs must, presumably, have been attached to the new skull, substituted in 1843, after being hurriedly thrown onto the presumed *tunic*.⁷⁸

BEYOND ANY REASONABLE DOUBT

Beyond any reasonable doubt the substitution of the poet's cranium, therefore, took place in May 1843, during the restoration sponsored and financed by Carlo Leoni. An operation that, as future statements attested, escaped any control, or more probably was conducted according to the unexpressed motivations of the protagonists. It is also plausible that the ark stayed open well beyond the morning of the 24th of May, in order to deal adequately with the cleaning of the skeleton and the closure of the cracks. Due to the complete opening of the ark, the skeleton lying on the larch plank could be easily examined by the onlookers, but it also enabled the manoeuvring and substitutions encountered subsequently.⁷⁹

The following question is inevitable: who carried out the substitution of the cranium? Clearly, it is impossible to provide a definitive answer. The official truth, immediately and authoritatively proposed by Antonio Meneghelli and the judicial enquiry, was accepted by the literati and avoided the doubts and perplexity at a local level being spread openly, and any questioning of an undertaking sanctioned by the village archpriest. Doubts and perplexity that were certainly not attenuated in the following decades, to the point of being accepted by Canestrini himself at the 1873 opening.⁸⁰

And, unless one is willing to consider an anonymous, altogether improbable, culprit of the theft, who, using the confusion, took possession of the skull, substituting it with another one appositely prepared,⁸¹ the choice is inevitably limited to the

77 Also Andrea Moschetti relied on the 1630 findings, without being able to prove that Petrarch's hair was of that colour (Moschetti, 1898–1899, 241–245). The red hair was also noticed by Moroni, but Canestrini remarked: "I believe that the reddish hairs that Moroni saw on the occiput were white at the time of the poet's death, and had then taken on the reddish colour by absorbing the colouring substances of the larch table on which the occiput rested" (Canestrini, 1874b, 74).

78 A not insignificant detail, if we consider that the presence of red hair in 1855 led us to exclude that the skull had been replaced during the nineteenth century openings of the ark.

79 In particular, from Moroni, who pointed out the different position in which the jaw was found, probably thrown there from the western side of the ark. As noted by the *Delegato* of Padua in 1843, the ark, initially lifted in order to see inside, was then opened completely to be able to proceed adequately with the restoration.

80 Emblematic was the text written in 1869 by P. Selvatico, "Foreigners used to come from many parts of Europe and the world to visit the house and tomb of Laura's lover, but in the meantime no one thought to save it from the heavy damage inflicted by time and neglect. Except that my dear friend Count Carlo Leoni in 1843, with that affection which is equal to his fervent genius, himself provided for the tomb to be worthily restored; and if he received (the usual reward for those who do good) a deal of resentment, he obtained, in return, the praise of anyone who honours in the great achievements of the past an eternal inheritance of glory for the present" (Selvatico, 1869, 435).

81 The "ill-intentioned person" recalled by Belzoni; but if the hypothesis of theft may also be plausible, it is, however, difficult to maintain that the thief could have replaced the skull.

two main protagonists of the opening: Count Leoni and the archpriest Saltarini. The latter had possession of the poet's rib and pieces of the small hood, which following his account would be definitively referred to as a *tunic*. In fact, with his account, which bounced from one newspaper to another, the archpriest aimed to underline the restoration of the ark and the decisive intervention by Leoni to finance an operation that none else would have been able to undertake. An intervention agreed, most likely with Leoni himself, and meant to stifle any criticism, particularly from the local area.

The most plausible author of the theft remains, therefore, Carlo Leoni who, by financing restoration of the old monument, had wanted above all to achieve an essentially more personal ambition, of a literary nature, to be underlined at the end of his life by the donation of pieces of the *tunic*, undersigned by a notarial note, and sent to important members of Italy's cultural and literary community.⁸²

And there are other suggestive clues that point towards Leoni: the personal reference to documents and news which, over the years remained uncorroborated or were clearly shown to be insubstantial; his significant silence regarding the controversial intervention, and his reluctance to engage personally regarding the operation he had financed; his prolonged absence from Arquà after the opening and restoration of the ark; his repeated attempts to oppose subsequent openings and the replacing of the poet's rib; and, at the end, his sharp criticism of the local notables and Giovanni Canestrini himself.

Finally, there is the picture, a picture which inevitably could not fail to ignore the description furnished by Don Giacomo Saltarini of the poet's remains, and neither the fact that Leoni, after proudly showing the observers Petrarch's cranium, had set it back in its original place. And, as has been shown, the picture shows unequivocally that the theft occurred during the 1843 opening. But when was it done? Probably Gradenigo made a sketch immediately after the ark's opening, but the picture, reproduced through lithography, was completed in the days following and after the ark had been closed.

It is plausible that at a later moment, before the ark was closed, that the mandible, rediscovered in the position shown in the picture, had been reattached to the skull itself, from which it had become detached.⁸³ But there are no statements attesting this. Certainly, Ferdinando Moroni rediscovered the mandible placed differently, but evidently, as we came to know at the beginning of this century, it belonged to a

82 A fragment of the tunic came to G. D'Annunzio, who kept it at the *Vittoriale*, framed and under glass. It is accompanied by an attestation by Leoni and by the authentication of the Venetian notary Gabriele Fantoni, written on the 11th of November 1873, "a greenish strip from Francesco Petrarch's tunic taken from the urn on the 24th of May 1843 by myself, C. Leoni" (D'Annunzio, 1935, 43). Similar relics were also donated to E. De Amicis, with whom Leoni had corresponded (Brambilla, 2011, 193–210), and to the director of the State Archives of Venice B. Cecchetti (Cecchetti, 1881, 32). Note that Leoni donated the fragments in November 1873, when the reopening of the ark was announced and imminent.

83 Indirect proof of this hypothesis comes from the fact that in 1855 the mandible was found in a different position from that indicated by the archpriest and also from that documented in Gradenigo's picture.

different cranium, which surprisingly had returned to the position described by the archpriest Saltarini.

And who, if not Carlo Leoni, could have carried out such a substitution? Most likely in a hurry, or by mistake, or perhaps more realistically because he had not yet examined Gradenigo's picture,⁸⁴ he put the skull in the position where it was rediscovered, above the little hood, chucking the mandible towards the lower part of the skeleton.⁸⁵ It would have been difficult for another person to carry out such an operation. Furthermore, we can plausibly suppose that the Paduan Count believed that the ark would not be reopened and none would have been able to notice the substitution, or at least the different position of the poet's remains.

This evidence is clearly not conclusive, but is certainly sufficient to suggest Leoni was the most likely person to have made the substitution. And amongst the onlookers, who would have had a sufficient motive to possess a similar prize, one which obviously could not be exhibited, but which would have gratified his intimate poetic and literary aspirations? The oft discussed reopening of the ark aroused anxiety and fear in the Paduan noble. The picture showed that something had gone wrong in May 1843.

Even the opening and inspection carried out in 1873 under the supervision of Giovanni Canestrini could not explain the contradictions of preceding accounts. In fact, the considerations of the illustrious scientist, who, as it is known, was among the first to spread Darwin's theories in Italy, were heavily coloured by a scientific framework deeply influenced by phrenology and the concept of race which during the 19th century was particularly popular (Drusini & Rippa Bonati, 2006, 329–330).⁸⁶ His anxiety to trace the presumed racial typology to attribute to Petrarch's skull probably prevented him from accepting the *historical truth* suggested by the data he had himself collected.

His heartfelt assertions about the authenticity of Petrarch's cranium derived most probably from the unexpressed desire to reach, through his investigation, a positive result, which would have silenced criticism sparked after the unexpected incident; but also from the unshaking faith in a scientific paradigm based on seemingly unchallengeable assertions and presuppositions.⁸⁷

84 As will be recalled, the drawing was reproduced using lithography.

85 It is significant that Leoni, in the days following the 1873 opening, writing to Canestrini, did not claim to have placed the skull (without mandible) in its original position, emphasizing rather that he was unable to grasp it due to his position on the ladder.

86 As has been correctly stated, "Canestrini's claims about the power of science to reveal significant truths about human beings capture the deep faith which formed a backbone to anthropology during the nineteenth century. Canestrini and others of his generation across Europe and USA invested in their science's objectivity, efficacy, and exactness, a commitment which may seem very naïve today" (Turda & Quine, 2018, 90). Similar considerations in: Hendrix, 2019, 43–44.

87 As has been observed by M. Turda and M.S. Quine, "whatever the truth may ultimately be, this story demonstrates one thing clearly: that nineteenth-century tomb raiders, despite their claims to the contrary, were not strictly ruled by the noble dictates of conscience and science. The quest for knowledge clouded their judgement and made them prone to fantasy, delusion, and deception" (Turda & Quine, 2018, 89).

Therefore, it was, over the following decades, that the 1843 opening was brought back to light in the version given by Antonio Meneghelli: an operation considered worthy of merit and which, despite some mishaps, had restored the ancient splendour of the poet's ark. Cultured tradition was affirmed, imposing a version in stark contradiction to what had actually happened.

Certainly, what had happened in May 1843 was done without approval from the community, clearly disdaining those values that, in the presence of the poet's remains, it had always considered its exclusive prerogative, distinguishing the village's prestige and honour, prestige and honour that in 1817 had been superbly penned by George Gordon Byron's introspective scrutiny and passed onto future generations through his splendid poetry.

VDORI V ARQUÀ PETRARCI (1630–2003).
V IMENU FRANCESCA PETRARCE

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POVZETEK

Več stoletij so posmrtni ostanki Francesco Petrarce počivali v sarkofagu, ki se je na visokem podstavku dvigal iznad bližnjih skromnih grobov domačinov v vasi Arquà. Tuji popotniki so se s strahospoštovanjem ustavlali pred starim spomenikom. Ta je namreč za mlade aristokrate, ki so na ‚veliki turneji‘ potovali po Evropi v spoznavanju njenih civilizacijskih in kulturnih dosežkov, pomenil znamenitost, ki si jo je bilo malodane nujno ogledati. Na Georgea Byrona sta leta 1817 vtis naredila občutek osamelosti, ki ga vzbujal kraj, in ponos, s katerim je veliki pesnik navdajal domačine. Preoblikovanje pokopališča v cerkveno dvorišče se je ujemalo z novo simbolno dimenzijo, ki so jo od sredine 19. stoletja dalje kultu Petrarce pripisovale občinske institucije in nastajajoča italijanska država. Ko je leta 1843 padovski grof Carlo Leoni začel z obnovo sarkofaga, je med lokalnimi veljaki izzval nasprotovanje in nezaupljivost. Toda literarni krogi tistega časa so restavratorsko delo hvalili in ga primerjali z vломom v grob, ki ga je leta 1630 zagrešil Tommaso Martinelli. Grob so ponovno odprli še v letih 1855, 1873 in 2003. Zadnji pregled je razkril, da je bil v preteklosti sarkofag močno izropan. Prispevek se osredotoča na kulturni in politični okvir, v katerem je prišlo do odprtja sarkofaga, ter na napetosti, ki jih je to povzročilo v vasi, ki je stoletja dolgo hranila posmrtnе ostanke velikega pesnika.

Ključne besede: Francesco Petrarca, Arquà Petrarca, literarni kult, ‚velika turneja‘, posmrtni ostanki, pogrebne prakse, popularna kultura

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SEX, LIES AND MARITAL VIOLENCE. DIVORCE CASE FROM THE RECORDS ON VISIT OF BISHOP VALIER TO ISTRIA IN 1580 AND ITS HISTORICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

In 1579 and 1580, Bishop Agostino Valier visited Istrian dioceses. This visitation is described in yet unpublished records, written originally in Latin and Old Italian. Among them, we find a record of a divorce case of Ivan Cinkopan and Dorotea Jašić from Labin that brought to light accusations of adultery, theft, and marital violence. This paper illustrates the results of a multidisciplinary study of the Cinkopans' divorce case: firstly, the transcription and English translation of the divorce trial record; secondly, the historical analysis and comparison with other relevant written sources from the same period, i.e. marital disputes from the Diocese of Poreč and statutes of Istrian towns; and thirdly, an anthropological analysis of relevant archaeological data - namely, female skeletons with injuries consistent or similar to the ones described in the divorce record.

Keywords: divorce, adultery, violence, marriage, women, Istria, 16th century

SESSO, BUGIE E VIOLENZA CONIUGALE. UN CASO DI DIVORZIO DAGLI ATTI SULLA VISITA DEL VESCOVO VALIER IN ISTRIA NEL 1580 ED IL RELATIVO CONTESTO STORICO E ANTROPOLOGICO

SINTESI

Nel 1579 e 1580, il vescovo Agostino Valier visitò le diocesi istriane. Questa visita è descritta in atti ancora inediti, originariamente scritti in latino e in italiano antico. Tra questi atti troviamo il resoconto di divorzio di Ivan Cinkopan e Dorotea

Jašić da Labin, che ha portato alla luce accuse di adulterio, furto e la violenza matrimoniale. Questo articolo presenta i risultati di uno studio multidisciplinare sul detto caso di divorzio: primo, la trascrizione e la traduzione inglese del resoconto di divorzio, l'analisi storica e il confronto con altre fonti scritte pertinenti dello stesso periodo, cioè le controversie coniugali della diocesi di Parenzo e gli statuti delle città istriane, e, in terzo luogo, l'analisi antropologica dei dati archeologici rilevanti, ovvero scheletri femminili con lesioni coerenti o simili a quelli descritti nel resoconto di divorzio.

Parole chiave: Divorzio, adulterio, violenza, matrimonio, donne, Istria, XVI secolo

INTRODUCTION

Marital processes from the territory of Istria, especially divorce cases, from the second half of the 16th century, following the Council of Trent, are rarely preserved and therefore represent sources of particular value. Namely, in the Diocesan Archive in Poreč only records on marital processes from the later period are preserved, from the year 1600 onwards, while the ones from the Diocese of Pula are almost nonexistent. Therefore, the record of the marital process set in Labin, which in the mentioned period belonged to the Diocese of Pula, preserved in the acts on visitation of Bishop Agostino Valier, though short, makes the source of greatest value. This paper analyses the mentioned source: at the beginning, Valier's visitation and marital processes recorded in the acts on that visitation are described, followed by Latin transcription and English translation of the abovementioned record, and by its historical and bioarchaeological analysis.

MARITAL DISPUTES IN ACTS ON THE BISHOP VALIER'S VISITATION TO ISTRIAN BISHOPRICS

Sixteenth century was a period of great turmoil and challenges in the Roman Catholic Church. The Church sought a way to respond to the criticism of Protestants, who questioned its teaching, organization and discipline, accusing it of corruption. The Counter-Reformation fought against Protestants, roughly speaking, on two levels: the Church, firstly, strived to eradicate Protestant teaching and to suppress their actions; secondly, it endeavoured to amend corrupt elements in the Church hierarchy and discipline, and thus remove cause for criticism. The reputation and,

consequently, the influence of the Church could have only been restored by a thorough moral renewal within its own ranks.

As a part of the Counter-Reformation endeavours, Catholic clergy gathered in Italian town of Trento at a series of meetings, named the Council of Trent (1545–1563), where guidelines for the aforementioned moral restoration were laid out. Bishops' visitations were defined as one of the major tools for implementation of the Tridentine reform (Perinčić, 1998, 161).

Bishops' visitations have been performed since the earliest times of Christianity. Bishops visited their own dioceses and supervised the life of the clergy and laymen. Visitations performed by bishops in their own dioceses are called 'pastoral visitations', while the ones conducted in another bishop's diocese, by an order of the Roman Pontiff, are termed 'apostolic' visitations (Krnjak, 2016, 312). Apostolic visitations became more common after the Council of Trent. Such was the visitation of Bishop Agostino Valier, who, by an order of Pope Gregory XIII, in 1579 and 1580 visited the dioceses in the territory of Venetian Istria and Dalmatia.

Agostino Valier (1531–1606) was a person of great prominence in the Republic of Venice and a passionate advocate of the Counter-Reformation and the Tridentine reform programme. At the time of his visit to Istria and Dalmatia, Valier served as Bishop of Verona. He became cardinal in 1585, and was a candidate for Pope after the death of Urban II. Since he belonged to the Venetian patrician family, he enjoyed the trust of Venetian authorities, who allowed him to inspect the dioceses in the Venetian territory. After visiting Dalmatia and Istria, Valier also visited the Diocese of Chioggia (1580), the city of Venice (1581), Padua and Vicenza (1583) (Krnjak, 2016, 334; Perinčić, 1998, 162).

Not all the territory of Istria and Dalmatia was available for Valier's inspection. In the 16th century, Istrian territory was divided between the Venetian Republic and the House of Austria. Significant part of Dalmatian territory was occupied by the Ottomans. Valier only visited areas under the control of the Venetian Republic. In Istria, he did not inspect parishes under the Austrian dominion: parts of the Diocese of Trieste, Archdeaconship of Rijeka (which then formed a part of the Diocese of Pula), and Archdeaconship in the territory of the Earldom of Pazin (Pitassio, 1968–1970, 28). It is not clear whether he visited the Diocese of Pićan, the centre of which was located in the territory of the Earldom of Pazin.¹ In Dalmatia, Valier did not visit a large part of the Diocese of Split, occupied by the Ottomans (Perinčić, 1998, 163).

Bishop Valier travelled accompanied by a big entourage, consisting of canon and civil law experts, theologians, notaries and other officials. The Visitator and his associates inspected general conditions in each visited diocese and investigated whether there had been any threats from heretic teaching, particularly from Protes-

1 The Vatican archives offer no records on such visit; however, the *Archivio storico della Curia vescovile di Verona* preserves a file on that visitation, dated 9 January 1580, which suggests that Pićan was visited in a single day (CVV–274, 14).

tants.² The main aim of the visitation was to establish whether the decisions of the Council of Trent had been observed and to provide guidelines for their implementation (Perinčić, 1998, 161–162; Krnjak, 2016, 312).

The visitation was documented comprehensively. One copy of the records is kept at the Vatican Secret Archives and another at the diocesan archive in Verona.

The records were written partly in Latin and partly in an Old Venetian dialect. Latin was the official language of the visiting bishop and his entourage, and was used in the documents they produced – questions prepared before the visitation, descriptions of visited places and churches, decrees, decisions and *sim*. Common people did not speak Latin, only Italian or Slavic language, which in visitation reports is referred to as “Illyrian”. The Visitator and his men, however, did not understand “Illyrian” language, and needed help of (Italian) translator. The answers and writings produced in Italian (or in Slavic, and afterwards translated into Italian) were recorded in Italian form.

The records on visitation contain valuable information on visited areas – their geographical features, population, political and economic conditions, life of the laymen and clergy, as well as the conditions in the Church. These records are known to the scientific public, but their text has not yet been fully transcribed or translated. At the moment of writing of this paper, a transcription of the records on the visit to the Diocese of Koper was published (Lavrič, 1986), while the transcription and translation of the records on the visit to the Diocese of Pula were made, but not published (Joksimović, forthcoming).

The records on Valier’s visitation contain, among other documents, accounts of legal proceedings held before the Visitator and his entourage. Among them, in the report on visitation of the Diocese of Pula, we find a record of the divorce trial between Ivan Cinkopan and Dorotea Jašić. It is a single divorce lawsuit in the acts on Valier’s visitation to Istrian dioceses.³ This record represents a significant piece in the mosaic of historical knowledge about the marriage, divorce, domestic abuse and gender roles in Istria, particularly in the area of Pula, at the end of the 16th century. Until now, this historical source has never been published, or analysed.

JUDICIAL PROCESSES

In order to gain information on visited dioceses, the Visitator and members of his entourage interviewed representatives of the clergy and the laity, exploring the life and the morals of the bishop, the clergy, secular authorities and the masses. They investigated whether the clergy was literate and instructed in theology and religious

2 Reformation movement was well established in the Austrian part of Istria, from where the Protestant ideas spread to the Venetian territory. After the Diet in Bruck an der Mur in 1578, the Archduke Charles II allowed the freedom of religion on his domains, so a large part of the nobility on these properties opted for Lutheranism. Protestant ideas have been spreading across Istria since about 1528, starting with Trieste (Pitassio, 1968–1970, 28, 30).

3 Text of records on the visit to Dalmatian dioceses was not available to the authors of this article. However, none of the numerous scholars who discussed Valier’s visitation to Dalmatia mentions any divorce case therein.

regulations, and visited all the sacral buildings and institutions, whose condition, inventory and possessions were described in minute detail.

Valier and members of his entourage acted, as well, as a court organ. At Valier's arrival to more important towns in each diocese, locals addressed the Visitator, asking him to mediate in their disputes. In such cases, the Visitator himself reconsidered the problem and made the decision. Besides that, in each visited diocese a set of trials was organized against laymen and clergy, on secular and theological issues, respectively. All judicial processes of this kind were presided over by Taffello Taffelli, Verona-based canon and doctor of canon and civil law. He was the main legal expert of Valier's entourage. He served as *auditor* and judge presiding over all trials. Since the visitation had its temporal limitations, often there was no time for presenting all the evidence and for reaching the final decision. In such cases, the continuation of the process begun was delegated to the bishop in charge.

The cases of this kind were threefold.

Firstly, there were processes against individuals charged with heresy; they are the least documented ones. There is only one record of such process in the acts on the visit to Istrian dioceses, namely against Ivan Librić from Labin, in the Diocese of Pula.⁴ We also read that in Vodnjan a trial was held against members of two families, suspected of "heretic perversion" (*de haeretica pravitate suspectas*).⁵ Acts on the visit to the Diocese of Trieste mention the process against Berzub from Muggia.⁶ Based on this, one may conclude that the actions against heretics undertaken by the Visitator and his entourage were few. This is due to the fact that Valier's visitation only instigated the processes that were conducted for years after his departure from Istria. Other sources complete and significantly change this image.⁷ Valier's visit to Istria initiated processes against at least 25 persons; they were held between 1581 and 1592 before a court in Venice (Joksimović & Komšo, 2017, 101–102). At least one of these cases ended with the execution of the death penalty – on 13 March 1584 Andrea Callegher from Vodnjan was sentenced to drowning in the Venetian lagoon (AMSI XVIII/1–2, 55, 58–59; Joksimović & Komšo, 2017, 102).⁸

4 ASV–86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 282r–286v.

5 ASV–86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 168r. Those families were Cineo, Paoli and Greek family Callegher (Joksimović, Komšo, 2017, 101).

6 ASV–86, *Visitatio Tergestina*, 541v.

7 The said group includes documents on trials against Istrian heretics, archived in the Venice State Archives, partially published in AMSI II and AMSI XVII–XX, under the title "Processi di luteranismo in Istria". Contrary to what the title suggests, these were not just the processes against the Lutherans, but also against Calvinists, Muslims, people accused of witchcraft, fornicators, etc. (Joksimović & Komšo, 2017, 97–98). In AMSI II, fasc. 1–2, 179–218, we find a list of trials against Istrian heretics before the Court of Venice.

8 Because of the heretic beliefs, Andrea was tried by the Bishop of Pula in 1569, when he falsely renounced his heretic convictions. He was, therefore, in 1584, sentenced to death as a *relapsus*. *Die martis 13 mensis martii 1584. Li Cl.º S.ri Jacomo Emo et Augustin Barbarigo stante la consignation p.º fatta del p.º Andrea da Dignan lo hano condanato che in questa notte a hora dela meza notte in circa sia conduto in una barcha et sia butado in mar fuora dei do castelli et li sia anegato ita che in esso mar si habbi a suffogar et morir et questo in essecution dela sententia del S.º Tribunal del Sopradetto come relapsu* (AMSI XVIII, fasc. 1–2, 58–59).

Secondly, there were processes against priests, accused of fornication, drunkenness, gambling and other types of immorality and misbehaviour. Such processes were numerous; altogether, there were more than 30 processes of this kind: 8 in the Diocese of Novigrad; 1 in the Diocese of Poreč and 1 in the Diocese of Kopar, 3 in the Diocese of Pula, and 18 in the Diocese of Trieste.⁹

The third and the most diverse group consists of cases titled “Disputes or civil lawsuits” (*Actus contentiosi seu ciuiles*). Records of such trials are preserved in acts on visits to each diocese. These lawsuits were always instigated by local inhabitants, laymen or representatives of Church institutions. The common characteristic of these cases is their secular character, that is, the fact that the subject of their dispute is secular in its nature. These are predominantly property disputes between different Church institutions (capitols, fraternities...) and / or private persons.¹⁰

More rarely, these are the lawsuits dealing with issues of family law, particularly, the question of marriage and betrothal. Such cases were discussed before the Church court because at the time of the visit marriage issues were under the jurisdiction of Church authorities (Church court decided on moral issues, and secular court on property issues). Only three lawsuits of this kind were heard during Valier’s visit. In the Diocese of Novigrad, Brtonigla parish priest demanded the man, who had been engaged with his sister Helena for 8 years (and to whose four children she gave birth during that period), to be forced into finally marrying unfortunate Helena.¹¹ In the Diocese of Trieste, Juraj from Buzet requested certain Pasqua to marry him claiming that she was obliged to do so, since the marriage was contracted by Pasqua’s father, although against Pasqua’s will.¹² The third case of this kind, concerning the marriage, is the divorce case of Ivan Cinkopan and Dorotea Jašić, which is in the focus of this paper.

JUDICIAL PROCESSES IN THE DIOCESE OF PULA

The divorce case of the Cinkopan couple took place in Labin, in the Diocese of Pula. This diocese was visited from 9 to 22 January 1580. Civil lawsuits were discussed in two centres: in Pula in the course of four days (from 14 to 17 January 1580), and in Labin in the course of two days (on 19 and 21 January 1580). All the processes were presided over by *auditor* Taffello Taffelli.

The first three trial days in Pula were devoted to the property litigations initiated by the Capitol of Pula against other church institutions and clerics (canons from Vodnjan, fraternities from Galižana and Pula monasteries). The legal representative of the Capitol of Pula (in almost all cases) was Pietro Dragano, (probable) author

9 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 260r–281v.; *Visitatio Amoniensis*, 384r–422v; *Visitatio Parentina*, 148r–163v; *Visitatio Tergestina*, 600r–670r; *Visitatio Iustinopolitan*, 515v–525r.

10 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 252r–259v; *Visitatio Amoniensis*, 378r–379r; *Visitatio Parentina*, 146r–147r; *Visitatio Tergestina*, 597v–598r; *Visitatio Iustinopolitan*, 504r–513v.

11 ASV-86, *Visitatio Amoniensis*, 378v.

12 ASV-86, *Visitatio Tergestina*, 597v–598r.

of two *Dialoghi sulle antichità di Pola*.¹³ Last day (17 January) was reserved for laymen who claimed debts from Church institutions and clergy. Namely, Giacoma Louison and her daughter Antonia sued the Vodnjan parish priest Giacomo Cineo for the money he owed them, while Elisabeth Labiancha claimed debt from the Franciscan monastery for textiles she had previously delivered to the monastery.¹⁴

On the first trial day in Labin, 9 January, only one case was presented to the *auditor* – the divorce case of the Cinkopan couple. Property litigations were discussed on the second day of civil lawsuits, 21 January. Seven such litigations were presented to the *auditor*. In five cases, different Church institutions from Labin sued different laymen.¹⁵ In two cases, private persons initiated lawsuits; thus, Katarina Antulić sued Fraternity of St. Stephen to repay her the value of certain amends, and Katarina Dragogna sued her brothers for inheritance.¹⁶ We see that in all cases instigated by laity, in Pula as well as in Labin, women were the ones initiating trials. All these women acted in court through their (male) legal representatives. This implies that women were prompt in seeking their rights.

THE RECORD OF THE DIVORCE CASE

The divorce trial of Ivan Cinkopan and Dorotea Jašić, organized on 19 January in Labin is the only divorce trial recorded in acts on Valier's visit to Istrian dioceses. The text of its record is written on two pages, and reads, in Latin and English translation, respectively, as follows.¹⁷

fol. 256r / p. 177

Die 19 Ianuarii 1580 Albonæ

Audito Ioanne Cincopano, mediante procuratore suo, dicente et exponente alias duxisse uxorem Dorotheam Iasich' et cum ea copulam carnalem habuisse et ita consumasse matrimonium. Item quod, postquam contractum fuerit matrimonium, dictam Dorotheam permisisse se carnaliter cognosci a diuersis et propterea comisisse adulterium. Quibus sic stantibus, praedictus Ioannes petit fieri diuortium quoad torum et mutuam seruitutem.

Respondente praedicta Dorothea et dicente petita per dictum Ioannem, maritum suum, minime fieri debere. Quinimo, reconueniendo ipsum, praedicta Dorothea deducit se sceuissime¹⁸ uerberatam exitisse a dicto Ioanne, marito suo, et propterea proponit seuitiem praedicti sui mariti, propter quam tuto uiuere non

13 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 252r–255r.

14 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 255r–256r.

15 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 256v–259r.

16 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 257r–v, 259r.

17 ASV-86, *Visitatio Polensis*, 256r–v, 77–78. Acts on visitation to each diocese were paginated by an editor. In the Vatican Library, foliation was marked with a stamp.

18 *seuissime*

potest cum eo. Quibus sic stantibus, petiit fieri diuortium hac de causa, quam declarauit esse et fuisse – quia prædicta Dorothea extitit uerberata sceuissime multoties uariis et diuersis modis et præsertim ense in manu dextera, quam ostendit Reuerendo domino auditori. Que quidem manus appetet esse debilitata adeo quod de pollice cognitio habetur et comprehenditur quod prædicta Dorothea uti non potest ad aliquid faciendum.

Replicante prædicto Ioanne quod quicquid fecerit, rationabili de causa uerberationem comisit, nempe pro adulterio quam pro surreptione bonorum, qua propter non hac de causa fieri debet diuortium, sed propter adulterium comisum faciendum est.

Duplicante prædicta Dorothea quod causa allegata per eam fieri /fol. 256v (p. 178)/ debet diuortium, stante confessione seuitiei dicti Ioannis, sui mariti, in prædictam Dorotheam et negante adulterium allegatum.

Quibus omnibus et singulis auditis et supra illis habita matura consideratione, Reuerendus dominus auditor Reuerendissimi domini uisitatoris apostolici declarauit diuortium fieri debere propter allegatam seuitiem, quæ fuit probata per confessionem antedicti Ioannis. Iccirco predictus Reuerendus dominus auditor dictam Dorotheam liberauit a cohabitatione cum dicto Ioanne, mandans utriusque parti ut caste uiuant in futurum.

fol. 256r / p. 177

On 19 January 1580 in Labin

Ivan Cinkopan was heard, his representative mediating, and he said and explained that he had previously taken Dorotea Jašić as his wife, and had bonded with her in flesh, and thus consumed the marriage. In addition, after the marriage took place, Dorotea allowed various men to know her carnally, and therefore committed adultery. Since that is the way the things are standing, the aforesaid Ivan requests divorce from the common bed and mutual duties.

The aforesaid Dorotea responded by saying that the request of Ivan, her husband, should not be granted. Rather, the foresaid Dorotea made a cross-demand, stating that she had been most cruelly beaten by the foresaid Ivan, her husband, and that she, therefore, proposes (the cause of divorce to be) the cruelty of her foresaid husband, because of which cruelty she cannot live safely with him. Since that is the way the things are standing, she demanded a divorce for the reason she had pointed out – the fact that Dorotea has, now and in the past, been many times most cruelly beaten in various ways and manners, especially by the sword on her right hand, which she showed to the Reverend Lord Auditor. That hand, in turn, seems weakened to the extent that the foresaid Dorotea cannot use her thumb to do anything, as is evidently clear.

The foresaid Ivan replied that whatever he did, he did with a good reason – namely the beating – for adultery, as well as for stealing; and that therefore, that should not be the cause of divorce, but the committed adultery.

The foresaid Dorotea replied that the divorce should occur due to the cause she adduced, /fol. 256v (p. 178)/ since Ivan, her husband, confessed his cruelty against Dorotea; she denied the alleged accusation of adultery.

Having heard all this in full and in detail, and having carefully considered it, the Reverend Lord Auditor of the Most Reverend Lord Apostolic Visitator declared that the divorce should occur due to the alleged accusation of cruelty, which was proved by the confession of the said Ivan. Therefore, the Reverend Lord Auditor absolved the said Dorotea from the cohabitation with the said Ivan, enjoining both parties to live chaste in the future.

MARITAL DISPUTES – VIOLENCE AND DIVORCES

The mentioned case is one of the few preserved processes from the Diocese of Pula. While in the Archives of the Diocese of Poreč there is a series of books on marital disputes traceable back to the beginning of the 17th century (on *concubinatus*, marital disputes, dispensations and wedding permissions, abductions) (Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 22–23), for the Diocese of Pula in the same period the preserved sources of the kind are scarce, which makes this case particularly interesting. The content itself does not differ much from other processes preserved from the Diocese of Poreč; however, it does testify that similar things were happening in neighbouring dioceses as well, specifically in the Diocese of Pula. In addition to this, the mentioned lawsuit is at least 20 years older than the proceedings from Poreč.

Its content fits in with the cases from the Diocese of Poreč. Since the divorce trial took place in the period following immediately the Council of Trent, it is significant that the spouses state that they got married and knew each other physically (that is, they had sexual intercourse), which was one of the conditions for marriage recognition in the pre-Tridentine period. Thus, it was a consummated marriage, which was anyhow valid. In the Middle Ages it was discussed whether marriage was concluded already by a ‘present consent’ (P. Lombard’s *Sentetiae*) or only with its consummation (*Gratian’s Decree*) (Lombardi, 2008, 46; Gaudemet, 1989, 130–141; Seidel Menchi, 2002, 36). Finally, consensual theory prevailed, which meant marriage was valid even if spouses only made agreement *de praesenti*. Such an agreement was the beginning of an unbreakable marriage bond, that is, a marriage sacrament. However, consummation continued to play an important role, even in the case of exchanged future promises. The future promise meant a certain obligation, but not an unbreakable bond – it was actually an engagement. However, if such a promise (in future tense) was followed by a consummation, the marriage was considered concluded (Gaudemet, 1989, 134–135; Lombardi, 2008, 37–38; Janeković Römer, 2007a, 132). In the specific case, spouses had consumed the marriage and considered the marriage indeed concluded and valid, so they were seeking divorce.

According to the Church law, there were two ways of separating spouses. One was divorce from the table and bed (which was requested in this specific case), and another marriage annulment, whereby spouses proved that their marriage was not contracted in a valid way. In the first case, the marriage bond would continue, and none of the spouses could remarry (Gaudemet, 1989, 234–235; Lombardi, 2001, 175; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 194–198). Divorce from the table and bed was, most often, granted for a limited period, *i.e.* until the reestablishment of conditions for common life; however, it could be a lifetime long, especially in cases of marital violence, *i.e.* violence against women (Lombardi, 2001, 175; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 198). In such cases, secular authorities, *i.e.* certain statutes of Istrian towns, obliged the husband to support the woman. For example, the statutes of Dvigrad (DS c. 75) and Vodnjan (VS I, 15) oblige the husband to support the wife as long as they are separated. The Dvigrad statute prescribes the exact amount (two *solidi* of small *denarii* for maintenance and everyday clothes), but the amount could vary, according to the decision of the Rector and the Council. The statute of Vodnjan does not prescribe the amount a husband should provide for a wife, but states that he should pay the amount defined by authorities. It is interesting that both statutes specify that the husband should be coerced to pay the alimony for the wife, implicating that husbands were not paying the alimony on free will, despite the fact that they could dispose of and manage women's possessions during their separation (cf.: Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 230–231). The Poreč marital disputes show that in the case of divorce women were often in a difficult position, seeking shelter and accommodation with relatives, friends, neighbours, and because of their limited business ability, their existence might have been threatened. Although the statutes obliged husbands to support wives, it is difficult to tell how many husbands really did so, and the existing sources are too scarce to allow any general conclusions. However, some processes of the Poreč diocesan court show that the diocesan, *i.e.* church court, as well, sometimes intervened by sealing the husband's property, to prevent him from alienating or spending it, to secure wife's alimony.¹⁹ This is interesting because property issues were under the jurisdiction of secular courts, and moral issues under that of church courts. However, in practice, the prerogatives of the aforementioned courts overlapped and complemented each other (in such cases Lombardi, 2000, 348–349, speaks of a mixed court).

In the event of marriage annulment, the marriage was considered to be irregularly concluded and nonexistent, therefore the spouses could enter a new marriage. Before the Council of Trent, marital processes generally aimed at proving the existence of marriage. Namely, due to the great liberality with which marriage was concluded in the Middle Ages (there was no stipulation as to where the marriage should be concluded, the presence of the minister, or even the witnesses themselves, was not necessary – only the present consent sufficed), women often had to prove that they were married if the marriage took place without witnesses (Cristellon, 2006, 115;

19 BAP-2.5, *Causae matrimoniales*, 41–42, 48–50, 60.

Janeković Römer, 2007a, 139; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 52–54). The Council of Trent has marked a new era in marriage, because it stipulated that, besides a spousal agreement, the presence of two or three witnesses is required, that the parish is the minister of the ceremony and that the marriage has to be registered or recorded in a book, that the ceremony must take place in front of the church (later, according to the Roman ritual, inside the church), and that before the ceremony three announcements need to be done in the church on three Sundays or feast days, in order to discover any possible obstacles before the marriage ceremony (Lombardi, 2001, 112–118, 234–236; Lombardi, 2008, 97–104; Bertoša, 2002, 48–65; Mogorović Crljenko, 2006, 42; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 75–80). The decisions of the Council were soon implemented in Istria, which is proved, among other, by the existence of register books (of baptized, wedded and deceased) that started to be regularly written after the Council; there are also preserved parish books from the period before the Council (Jelinčić, 1987, 172–173, Mogorović Crljenko *et al.*, 2005, 445; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 60–61). Consequently, after the Council of Trent, the possibility of negating a marriage was minimised. In the aforementioned divorce case, spouses were consensual on marriage validity and demanded divorce from the church judges.

Grounds for divorce could be different (see esp. Neralić, 2003, 40–41; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 90–100, 194–217). It is evident from this process that adultery and marital violence were considered legitimate causes for divorce from the table and bed. Penalties for adultery, besides penance, were not determined by the church court; rather they were stipulated by secular laws or statutes. For example, the Rovinj statute (RS III, 55, 56) allows the husband to punish adulterous wife by flogging. Besides, an adulteress lost her dowry and property in favour of the children, and if there were no children, in favour of the husband. The Pula Statute (PS IV, 8), as well, allowed flogging of a wife if she had taken another husband along with the first one; in this case, again, her property belonged to her (first) husband. The Labin Statute (LS, 1870) states no such thing explicitly, and at the moment there is no process to prove whether such practice existed; however, we cannot rule out the possibility that the penalty was similar. On the other hand, many marital disputes show that church judges sought to prevent violence against women by granting divorce from the table and bed.

Interesting is the claim of D. Lombardi that in the early period of reformation and separation of churches, in Protestant communities marriage was proclaimed a lay issue; therefore the father decided on children's marriage, while the Catholic Church continued to insist on the agreement of spouses, not parents. Lombardi also claims that in the first centuries after the separation of churches, it was easier for women to separate from violent husbands in Catholic than in Protestant areas, since Protestant churches at first did not admit violence as a cause for divorce (Lombardi, 2008, 90–92; Marchisello, 2004, 154; Burghartz, 2006, 229–230). On the other hand, in Catholic countries, marital violence was one of the legitimate motives for divorce (Seidel Menchi, 2000, 92–93; Chojnacki, 2000, 388–389; Esposito, 2000, 505–506;

Quaglioni, 2000, 111–112; Lombardi, 2008, 93). This is evidenced by the processes recorded in books of marital disputes of the Diocese of Poreč, which testify that in the case of marital violence (only violence against women is recorded, not against husbands), the court granted divorce from the table and bed, and sometimes prescribed the alimony to the wife.

From these proceedings we see that husbands beat their wives with weapons they accidentally found at hand, such as stones, rods, knives, bare hands, and that sometimes wives had to literally flee from home to save themselves from violent husbands. From the proceedings recorded in the area of the Diocese of Poreč, it is evident that sometimes such conflicts and violence occurred when the husband was under the influence of alcohol; that imposes the question of alcoholism in the past, specifically in the 16th and 17th century. Few cases show that a woman could have been beaten to the extent that she could not get out of bed for a few days and that she was all covered in bruises²⁰ (Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 220–228). Proceedings from Valier's visitation show that the violence against Dorotea Jašić is very similar. She was beaten on several occasions, and she states herself that her right hand was permanently damaged, which was apparent to the judges at first glance.

The decision of the church judges shows that violence was considered a serious problem in the family; they did not accept husband's claims on her alleged adultery as grounds for divorce, but rather the wife's accusations on violence, as well as the need to protect a wife from the violent spouse at least by granting her the possibility of separation. Finally, a detailed analysis of the Diocese of Poreč in the first half of the 17th century shows that cases of such violence and, consequently, divorces were rare, less than 1% of all marriages, at least those marriages that appeared in court (Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 200). Naturally, it is unlikely that each case of violence was brought to court, but it is also unlikely that violence was a daily form of communication. Namely, the verdicts of the church court show that violence was not considered an acceptable means for solving problems. As a rule, church judges acted as mediators and sought to find a peaceful solution and, if possible, a way for the spouses to stay together, but in cases of violence against the wife, especially if her life was endangered, they would grant the divorce from the table and bed, primarily as a measure for protecting the wife (Lombardi, 2008, 75; Mogorović Crljenko, 2009, 215–226; Mogorović Crljenko, 2012, 201; Janeković Römer, 2007b). On the other hand, some statutes show that in the case of wife's adultery the secular legislation considered corporal punishments suitable (flogging in the case of the Rovinj and Pula statutes). However, mentioned statutes stipulated corporal punishments, which were acceptable at that period (flogging, mutilation and even death), for other criminal offenses, too, for both men and women. Nevertheless, some studies show that in reality, despite statutory regulations, corporal punishments were rarely imposed, especially mutilation and death penalties; instead, they were often modified into fines (Mogorović Crljenko, 2006, 164–167).

20 See, e.g.: BAP 2.5 *Causae matrimoniales*, 61, 75–88.

The mentioned proceeding shows that in the analysed period in the Diocese of Pula there were marital disputes present, that they were not too frequent and that the decisions (of church judges) benefited the weak, in this case a wife, in order to prevent or at least reduce violence.

SKELETAL EVIDENCE OF PHYSICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

In order to observe the case of Dorotea Jašić from all perspectives, we can turn to relevant archaeological evidence. Here we present the bioarchaeological evidence of intentional female-oriented physical violence from several eastern Adriatic sites dated to the late medieval period that can be correlated with the case of Dorotea Jašić.

In an archaeological context, the presence of interpersonal violence is best documented through the analysis of bone trauma. Unambiguous skeletal indicators of deliberate violence include the presence of perimortem and/or sharp force injuries (e.g. Merbs, 1989; Alvrus, 1999). Again, the occurrence of the so-called ulnar “parry” fractures (e.g. Smith, 1996; Judd, 2008) and the presence of craniofacial injuries (especially in the frontal region) is an additional indicator of physical violence in a certain population (e.g. Alvrus, 1999; Jurmain et al., 2009). Today, bone fractures have become one of the most studied pathological conditions in archaeological samples (e.g. Djurić et al., 2006; Šlaus et al., 2010) as they provide ample information on various aspects of life that cannot be gauged through conventional archaeological investigations or by written historic sources. Unfortunately, only a few bioarchaeological studies dealing with female-oriented physical violence in past populations have been published so far (e.g. Smith, 1996; Martin, 1997; Walker, 1997; Kjellström, 2009; Novak, 2009).

For the purpose of this study we analysed skeletal remains belonging to adult individuals from multiple medieval and early modern sites located on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. All analyses were conducted in Zagreb, at the Anthropological Centre of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Institute for Anthropological Research.²¹

This study included numerous medieval and early modern skeletal assemblages from the region of northern Adriatic – Istria, Rijeka and Kvarner archipelago.²²

21 All studied skeletons were examined macroscopically for the possible presence of trauma using methods proposed by Maples (1986) and Lovell (1997). In order to discern injuries caused by intentional violence from those that occurred as a result of accidents, we used the criteria proposed by Jurmain et al. (2009), and recorded the presence of four skeletal indicators of deliberate physical violence: craniofacial injuries (facial and frontal regions combined), sharp force lesions, “parry” fractures, and perimortem trauma.

22 The mentioned sites include Gurani - Na križu (Šlaus et al., 2007), Krk - Sveti Lovro (Novak, unpublished data), Mirine - Fulfinum (Perinić Muratović et al., 2009; Novak, unpublished data), Novigrad (Rajić Šikanjić & Ujčić, 2003), Pula - Franciscan monastery (Bradara et al., 2015), Pula - Sveti Mihael (Novak, unpublished data), Rijeka - Pul Vele crikve Square (Šlaus et al., in press), Strančić - Gorica (Šlaus et al., 2011), Tribunj - Sveta Marija (Premužić & Rajić Šikanjić, 2010), Umag - Sveti Martin Square (Trupković et al., 2012), and Umag - Dante Alighieri Street (Novak, unpublished data).

The meticulous study of skeletal remains from these sites did not reveal any evidence of deliberate violence against women. This might suggest that this phenomenon was not common during the Middle Ages in northern Adriatic. On the other hand, there is plentiful evidence of deliberate violence in this region with males as the primary victims. These evidence include the presence of ulnar parry fractures and crano-facial injuries, but also the presence of perimortem and/or sharp force injuries on male skeletons (Novak, unpublished data). The intentional violence was definitely present, but it seems it was mostly oriented toward males, at least according to skeletal data.

On the other hand, the analysis of skeletons from Dalmatia and its hinterland reveal a somewhat different picture. Here we recorded seven female skeletons from five late medieval sites, all dated between the 14th and 16th century,²³ that exhibit evidence of intentional physical violence.²⁴

Skeletons belonged to women of different ages, the youngest being 16–18, and the eldest over 50 years old. Only antemortem craniofacial and “parry” fractures were recorded. No perimortem and/or sharp force trauma were observed in any of the mentioned skeletons. The absence of such injuries in our case could indicate that the violent episodes in which these women were involved did not end with death of the victims, as all injuries seem completely healed. Furthermore, the lack of perimortem trauma might also suggest that these episodes did not involve the use of sharp-bladed weapons such as knives and swords. This is contrary to the case of Dorotea Jašić from Labin where, according to her testimony, her husband even used a sword besides beating her.

There is a clear predominance of craniofacial injuries (one nasal fracture and five injuries to the frontal bone). The presence of head and face trauma in a population is a conclusive proof of intentional violence (e.g. Walker, 1989; Alvrus, 1999; Jurmain *et al.*, 2009). In this context Walker (1997, 160) even hypothesizes that ‘well-placed blows to the head are also likely to produce bleeding and conspicuous bruises that serve as a highly visible symbol of the aggressor’s social dominance’. In our case, all injuries located on the frontal bone resulted from blunt-force trauma, which is usually caused by a relatively low-velocity impact over a relatively large surface and is typically produced by blunt instruments such as sticks and/or bats (Galloway *et al.*, 1999).

23 Based on recovered artefacts, radiocarbon dates and stratigraphy.

24 1) Dugopolje - Vučipolje, burial 44, 40–50 yrs. – well-healed fracture of both nasal bones; 2) Eraci - Krč, burial 6A, 16–18 yrs. – well-healed oval-shaped depressed fracture on the posterior part of the frontal bone; 3) Starigrad - Sveti Petar, burial 100, 24–32 yrs. – well-healed oval-shaped depressed fracture on the frontal bone; 4) Starigrad - Sveti Petar, burial 117, 40–50 yrs. – depressed fracture on the right side of the frontal bone; 5) Starigrad - Sveti Petar, burial 126, over 50 yrs. – well-healed oval-shaped depressed fracture on the frontal bone; 6) Nin - Sveti Anselmo, burial 94, 40–50 yrs. – depressed fracture on the frontal bone; another antemortem fracture on the 5th left rib; 7) Vrsi - Sveti Toma, burial 13, 28–36 yrs. – well-healed fracture on the proximal diaphyseal third of the left ulna.

Furthermore, the nasal fracture recorded in an individual from Dugopolje could suggest an episode of domestic assault, since this type of fracture is a typical skeletal indicator of domestic abuse (e.g. Fonseka, 1974; Walker, 1997; Novak, 2009). Finally, the presence of one ulnar “parry” fracture could be an additional indicator of female-oriented physical violence in the studied sample. The aetiology of this fracture is explained by the following scenario: in an attempt to protect one’s head from a blow, an individual raises his/her arm to protect the head and face - in this position ulna is closest to the attacker and as a consequence suffers the largest amount of force from the blow, and therefore breaks (Merbs, 1989).

In terms of skeletal indicators of intentional physical violence against women, it seems there is a difference between northern and southern Adriatic. In Istria and its vicinity, we could not find any skeletal evidence that would indicate the occurrence of this phenomenon. The case of Dorotea Jašić remains an isolated episode.

In the region of Dalmatia and its hinterland, the situation is somewhat different, as we managed to identify at least seven women, who were probably the victims of intentional violence. Based on the available osteological data, most of these violent episodes could be associated with domestic assaults and involved the use of fists and/or some other blunt objects. Again, the use of sharp bladed weapons, as in the case of Dorotea Jašić whom, according to her testimony, her husband attacked using a sword, as well as beating her, remains isolated.

CONCLUSION

As a part of the Bishop Valier’s visitation to Istrian dioceses, a set of trials was arranged. One of them, held on 19 January 1580 in Labin, in the Diocese of Pula, dealt with divorce of Ivan Cinkopan, who requested separation on the grounds of alleged adultery of his wife, Dorotea Jašić, who, in turn, requested divorce because her husband abused her physically.

Church law stipulated that spouses could be separated by marriage annulment, or by divorce from the table and bed. The Cinkopans’ consummated their marriage, which made it valid, therefore they requested divorce.

Adultery and marital violence were considered legitimate causes for divorce. Penalties for adultery were stipulated by secular laws or statutes. According to them, adulterous wife lost her property in favour of the children or the husband. Husbands were allowed to punish their wives by flogging. Wife’s adultery, therefore, justified husband’s violence against her. It is possible that Ivan Cinkopan’s accusations of his wife’s adultery (as well as for theft) aimed at justifying his violence against her.

Written sources show that marital violence was not unusual at the time. Husbands beat their wives with bare hands and weapons, sometimes truly cruelly, and sometimes wives saved themselves only by escaping. Violence against Dorotea Jašić was very similar. She was beaten on several occasions, and her right hand was permanently damaged, when her husband hit her with the sword.

Nevertheless, it is unlikely that violence was a daily form of communication. Church authorities considered violence against women to be a serious problem in the family, and Church judges sought to prevent it by granting women the possibility of separation and, sometimes, right to alimony. In the case of Dorotea Jašić, Church judges did not accept husband's claims on her alleged adultery as grounds for divorce, but rather the wife's accusations on violence and protected a weak woman instead of a violent husband. No right to alimony is mentioned. Since the *Bible* claimed the marriage to be a lifelong bond, which continued even in the case of divorce, none of the spouses could remarry – the same was the case with the Cinkopans' divorce.

The fact that violence was not omnipresent in marriages is further supported by bioarchaeological data. Relevant female skeletal remains from Istria and its vicinity did not reveal any evidence of deliberate violence against women. The case of Dorotea Jašić remains an isolated episode. This might suggest that this phenomenon was not common during the Middle Ages in the region of northern Adriatic.

The situation is somewhat different in southern Adriatic, in the region of Dalmatia and its hinterland, where there are proofs of intentional violence against women. Most of these violent episodes could be associated with domestic assaults and involved the use of fists and/or some other blunt objects. None of the testified attacks ended with death – all the wounds were healed. The use of sharp bladed weapons, as in the case of Dorotea Jašić, remains isolated. The extent of the violence is what makes the Cinkopans' case specific.

SEX, LAŽI IN OBČASNO NASILJE. PRIMER LOČITVE IZ AKTOV O OBISKU ŠKOFA AVGUSTINA VALIERA V ISTRI LETA 1580 IN NJEN ZGODOVINSKI IN ANTROPOLOŠKI KONTEKST

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POVZETEK

V kontekstu reformacije je škof Avgustin Valier leta 1579–1580 obiskal istrske škofije. Ta obisk je opisan v še neobjavljenih aktih, napisanih v latinščini in stari italijanščini. V vsaki obiskani škofiji so bila organizirana sojenja laikom in duhovnikom. Tako je v Labinu v Pulski škofiji 19. januarja 1580 potekala sodna obravnava o ločitvi Ivana Cinkopana in Dorotee Jašić, ki je razkrila obtožbe prešuštva, tativne in družinskega nasilja. Zapisnik omenjenega sojenja se nahaja med že omenjenimi akti o Valierovem obisku. Le-ta predstavlja pomemben vir za razumevanje zakona, razveze in družinskega nasilja v Istri, še posebej na območju Pulja, ob koncu 16. stoletja, saj so viri te vrste za Puljsko škofijo iz omenjenega obdobja redki.

V tem članku prvič dajemo na vpogled transkript in angleški prevod, ter zgodovinsko analizo zapisnika o omenjenem sojenju. Podatki iz zapisnika so primerjani s podatki iz drugih zgodovinskih virov, zlasti pravnih dokumentov – zapisnikov zakonskih sporov iz Poreške škofije in statutov istrskih mest iz istega obdobja. Zgodba o ločitvi je postavljena tudi v antropološko perspektivo s primerjavo relevantnih arheoloških podatkov in sicer, ženskih okostnjakov s poškodbami, ki so skladne ali podobne tistim, opisanim v zapisniku o razvezi.

Prešuštvo in zakonsko nasilje sta veljala za legitimne razloge za razvezo. Pisni viri kažejo, da zakonsko nasilje v tistem času ni bilo nenavadno. Moški so žene pretepali z golimi rokami in orožjem, včasih resnično surovo. Nasilje nad Doroteo Jašić je podobno drugim znanim primerom. Večkrat je bila pretepena, njena desna roka pa je bila trajno poškodovana, ko jo je mož udaril z mečem. Kazni za prešuštvo so določali sekularni zakoni. Statuti so moškim dovoljevali da prešušnice kaznujejo s šibanjem. Nezvestoba je torej opravičevala nasilje nad žensko.

Kljub temu je malo verjetno, da je bilo nasilje vsakodnevna oblika komuniciranja.

Za Cerkvene organe je bilo nasilje nad ženskami resen družinski problem, ki so ga poskušali preprečiti tako, da so ženskam omogočali ločitev. V primeru Dorotee Jašić cerkveni sodniki kot razlog za ločitev niso sprejeli moževe trditve o njeni domnevni nezvestobi, temveč ženine obtožbe za nasilje – zaščitili so pravice šibke ženske in ne nasilnega moža.

Dejstvo, da nasilje ni bilo vseprisotno v zakonskih zvezah, podpirajo tudi bioarheološki podatki. Analizirani ženski okostnjaki iz Istre in njene okolice ne kažejo na obstoj namernega nasilja nad ženskami. Primer Dorotee Jašić ostaja izolirana epizoda. To lahko pomeni, da ta pojav ni bil običajen v srednjem veku na območju severnega Jadrana. Razmere so nekoliko drugačne na južnem Jadranu, v Dalmaciji in njenem zaledju, kjer obstajajo dokazi namernega nasilja nad ženskami. Večino teh nasilnih epizod se da povezati z družinskim nasiljem, vključevale pa so uporabo pesti in/ali drugih topih predmetov. Noben od pričevanih napadov se ni končal s smrtjo – vse rane so bile ozdravljene. Uporaba ostrega orožja, kot v primeru Dorotee Jašić, ostaja izoliran pojav. Primer Cinkopanov je specifičen zaradi obsega nasilja.

Ključne besede: ločitev, prešuščvo, nasilje, zakonska zveza, ženske, Istra, šestnajsto stoletje

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SREDNJEVEŠKA GRADBENA ZGODOVINA GRADU PREM

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IZVLEČEK

Zadnja obnovitvena dela na gradu Prem so omogočila novo raziskavo in interpretacijo njegove srednjeveške gradbene zgodovine. Grad je v srednjem veku doživel pester razvoj v vsaj petih časovno razmaknjenih stavbnih fazah. Sprva dokaj skromna in utilitarno oblikovana stavbna zasnova na dominantnem višinskem položaju je do konca 15. stoletja dobila monumentalno razgibano grajsko podobo z diferenciranim jedrom in kompleksnim sistemom zunanjega obrambnega obzidja. V zgodnjem 15. stoletju je kot arhitekturna umetnina pod plemiško rodovino Walsee doživel svoj vrhunec in takrat je dobil tudi novo grajsko kapelo, ki je bila ena najbolj ambiciozno oblikovanih srednjeveških kapel na gradovih v slovenskem prostoru.

Ključne besede: Prem, gradbena zgodovina, kastelologija, arhitektura, romanika, gotika, Devinski, Walsee

STORIA MEDIEVALE DELLA COSTRUZIONE DEL CASTELLO DI PREM

SINTESI

Gli ultimi lavori di restauro del Castello di Prem (Primano) hanno dato lo spunto per una nuova indagine e una reinterpretazione della storia medievale della costruzione dell'edificio. Nel Medioevo il castello conobbe uno sviluppo dinamico che si svolse nel corso di almeno cinque fasi di costruzione temporalmente separate. Inizialmente alquanto modesta e utilitaria, eretta in un'elevata posizione dominante, alla fine del Quattrocento la struttura esibiva già un aspetto castellano monumentale e sfaccettato, con un nucleo differenziato e un complesso sistema di cortine. Come opera d'arte architettonica raggiunse l'apice nel primo Quattrocento sotto il nobile casato dei Walsee con la costruzione di una nuova cappella che vantava un design architettonico tra i più ambiziosi di tutte le cappelle castellane medievali sul territorio sloveno.

Parole chiave: Prem, storia della costruzione, castellologia, architettura, romanico, gotico, signori di Duino, i Walsee

UVOD IN ZGODOVINSKI OKVIR

Na Premu ohranjeni srednjeveški grad spominja na nekoč precejšnje število primerljivih grajskih stavb na prehodnem območju med Krasom, Notranjsko in Istro ter se uvršča med najbolj pričevalne grajene zgodovinske vire v porečju Reke. Njegova stavbna zasnova je bila tudi zato doslej že večkrat predmet gradbenozgodovinskih analiz in interpretacij (INDOK, Prem, Zadnikar, 1954; Zadnikar, 1959, 318–321; Osmuk, 1984, 283–284; Foscan & Vecchiet, 1985, 55–58; Stopar, 1986, 334–337; Kramberger, 2001, 68–69; Peskar, 2005, 169–172, 244–245; Sapač, 2007, 108–133; Stopar, 2007, 69; Stopar, 2008, 176–187; Schicht, 2011, 185). Zadnja obsežna obnovitvena dela v letih 2007 in 2008¹ so prispevala nekaj pomembnih novih podatkov za proučevanje gradbene zgodovine ter so spodbudila tudi novo ovrednotenje in interpretacijo ostankov zidov, ki so bili na območju grajskega jedra razkriti med arheološkimi raziskavami v letih 1982, 1983 in 2000.² V zadnjih letih je bilo objavljenih tudi nekaj novih zgodovinskih raziskav, ki zaokrožujejo vedenje o pomenu in usodah gradu v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku. V tem članku želim dopolniti in deloma korigirati spoznanja, ki sem jih objavil leta 2007 (Sapač, 2007, 108–133) ter natančneje opredeliti srednjeveško gradbeno zgodovino gradu. Pri tem bom uporabil zlasti metodo strukturne stavbne analize, ki sta jo v slovenskem prostoru utemeljila kastelologa Ivan Komelj (Komelj, 1951) in Ivan Stopar (Stopar, 1977),³ in pri tem upošteval tudi nove metode, ki so se v zadnjih letih uveljavile pri proučevanju razvoja grajske arhitekture na območju Istre (Višnjić, 2018).

Grad je nastal ob srednjeveški cesti oziroma poti, ki je čez Brkine, Čičarijo in Velika vrata povezovala dolini Pivke in Reke z notranjostjo Istre. To območje je imelo izjemni prometni pomen, zato so si tu vse regionalne sile prizadevale vzpostaviti nadzor nad potmi (Kosi, 1998, 244 in zemljevid).⁴ Grad so postavili na izpostavljenem dominantnem položaju, na pomolu, visoko nad dolino Reke. Bil je središče velikega zemljiskega gospodstva, tretjega poleg Devina in Senožeč, ki so ga imeli na območju med Krasom in Istro v fevdu gospodje Devinski. Bili so najmočnejši vazali oglejske cerkve na obsežnem in za trgovino pomembnem ozemlju od Furlanije do Kvarnerskega zaliva. Poleg Prema, Devina in Senožeč so imeli od patriarchata v fevdu še Momjan, Reko, Kastav, Veprinac, Lovran, Moščenice, Brseč in Castelnuovo v Furlaniji (Kos, 1923, 91–134; Štih, 1992, 309–321). Njihove posesti so jim omogo-

1 Cf. Klemenčič, 2008, 218; ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica: fototeka, planoteka in spisovno gradivo v zvezi z gradom Prem iz obdobja med letoma 1970 in 2016; ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica, tipkopis Nade Osmuk, 2008; Belingar, 2017, 180–181.

2 Za pomoč pri interpretaciji izkopanih ostankov zidov se zahvaljujem Nadi Osmuk, upokojeni konservatorki arheologinji novogoriške območne enote Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, ki je na gradu Prem vodila arheološke raziskave.

3 Metoda temelji na celoviti analizi strukture zidave, gradbenih stikov, oblikovanja posameznih stavbnih členov, upošteva pa tudi pisne zgodovinske vire, rezultate arheoloških raziskav in zakonitosti osnovne stavbne tipologije, postavitev v prostor, uporabe materialov, konstrukcijskih sistemov ter dokumentiranega funkcionalnega pomena posamezne grajske stavbe.

4 Cf. Kos, 1954, 40; Štih, 1997, 97–100.



Sl. 1: Propadajoči kompleks gradu Prem z zahodne strani pred letom 1927 (INDOK, f08366-001s-b).

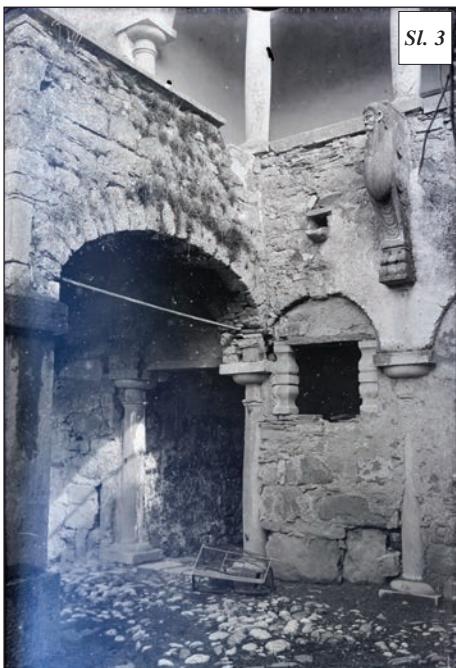


Sl. 2: Prenovljeni kompleks gradu Prem z južne strani na razglednici iz okoli leta 1935 (Zasebna zbirka).

čale učinkovit nadzor nad dostopi do Istre s kopenske strani. Premsko gospodstvo je najverjetneje nastalo z osamosvojitvijo dela andeškega gospodstva Postojna in je še v prvi polovici 13. stoletja postalo last oglejskega patriarhata (Kosi, 2018, 40–42). Po tradiciji je srednjeveški grad nastal na lokaciji rimske utrdbe *Castra Primano* in naj bi po njej dobil tudi ime, vendar te trditve doslej opravljene raziskave avtentičnih pisnih virov in materialnih ostankov niso potrdile. V virih je grad prvič izpričan leta 1213, posredno, ko je kot priča omenjen *Udo de Prem* (Kos, 1928, 113, no. 213). Omenjeni Udo je bil najverjetneje Vošalk (II.) Devinski, ki se v listinah pojavlja med letoma 1188 in 1238 (Kosi, 2015, 389; Kosi, 2018, 41). Malo zatem je Prem v dveh dokumentih iz let 1217 in 1234 izpričan kot posest njegovega brata Henrika (*Hainricus de Prem*), ki je v virih omenjen med letoma 1188 in 1234 (Kosi, 2018, 41–43; cf. Štih, 1991, 551; Štih, 1992, 319; Štih, 1997, 240; Jakič, 1997, 260). Grad je izrecno prvič omenjen šele leta 1366 kot *Castrum Prem* (Bianchi, 1847, no. 1246). Utemeljena je domneva, da je grad v pozmem 12. stoletju ali zgodnjem 13. stoletju postavil prav Vošalk (II.) Devinski in se po njem začel imenovati, nato pa ga prepustil svojemu bratu Henriku.

V 13. stoletju so se Devinski osamosvajali od oglejskega patriarhata in prestopili v vrste ministerialov Goriških grofov, ki so bili nasprotniki Ogleja (Štih, 1997, 46–53). V 14. stoletju so dosegali vse večjo moč in se na koncu s Hugom VIII. (izpričan 1354–1390) spetno dokončno osamosvajali od oglejske, pa tudi goriške nadoblasti. Že leta 1304 se je Hugo II. Devinski (izpričan 1252–1308) celo uprl grofu Albertu II. Goriškemu. Ta ga je nato več tednov z močnimi vojaški oddelki oblegal ujetega v premskem gradu. Hugo se je zaradi nasprotnikove premoči napisled vdal (Foscan & Vecchiet, 1985, 55–58). Leta 1308 ga je grof Henrik II. Goriški pomilostil, vendar je moral ponovno priseči zvestobo goriškim in preostanek življenja preživeti na Premu (Štih, 1992, 310–312, 318; Štih, 1997, 48–52; Kosi, 2018, 90). Iz razpoložljivih virov ni razvidno, do kdaj je živel in kdo ga je na premskem gradu nasledil. Leta 1312, ko je Henrik II. Goriški za furlansko plemstvo organiziral viteški turnir, sta priprave vodila Rudolf II. Devinski (izpričan 1296–1319) in Friderik s Prema. Leta 1341 je na premskem gradu prebival neki Hervard – *Herbordus de Prem* (Jakič, 1997, 260). Vsekakor je grad tudi po letu 1308 ostal ena najpomembnejših devinskih postojank. Leta 1366 je Hugo VIII. Devinski dokončno pretrgal odvisnost od Ogleja in se z vsemi svojimi posestvi podvrgel Habsburžanom (Štih, 1992, 310). Kmalu zatem so Devinski s smrtno njegovega sina Huga IX. v moški liniji leta 1399 izumrli (Baucer, 1991, 327; Kos, 1923, 116–133; Štih, 1997, 47, 240).

Prem je zatem leta 1401 na osnovi poravnave s Katarino Devinsko († 1435) in z Ano Devinsko († 1406), ki sta bili sestri pokojnega Huga IX., pripadel Rudolfu I. Walseeju († 1405) iz družinske linije Enns, ki je v pisnih virih prvič izpričan leta 1357. Bil je avstrijski deželni maršal in je po smrti Huga VIII. Devinskega leta 1390 na osnovi njegove oporoke kot njegov svak prevzel skrbništvo njegovih dveh mladoletnih sinov. Leta 1394 je postal glavar Trsta. V zadnjih letih je živel predvsem na posestih, ki jih je dobil po Devinskih (Doblinger, 1906, 317, 388,



Sl. 3: Utilitarne predelave na grajskem arkadnem dvorišču pred letom 1927 (INDOK, f08366-002s-b). Sl. 4: Figuralni kapitel z zgodnjega 15. stoletja v premski grajski kapeli Walseejcev (Igor Sapač, 2018).

391–393, 561; Kosi, 2018, 109).⁵ Rudolf je svoje premoženje zapustil mlajšima bratom Rajnprehtu II. in Frideriku V. (Doblinger, 1906, 391, 562). Friderik je umrl že leta 1408 in celotna posest s Premom je pripadla Rajnprehtu II., ki je bil od leta 1380 glavar Gornje Avstrije in je do smrti leta 1422 je pridobil veliko število gradov oziroma gospostev v Gornji Avstriji, na Štajerskem, Kranjskem in v Istri. Bil je trikrat poročen; po smrti prve žene Katarine Liechtensteinske se je leta 1398 poročil z Ano roj. Kapeller († 1404), ki je bila hči Ane Devinske († 1406), po njeni smrti pa se je leta 1406 poročil z njeno teto, vdovo Katarino Meissau roj. Devinsko († 1435), hčerjo Huga VIII. Devinskega. Po poroki s Katarino in po smrti brata Friderika je prišel do celotne ogromne dediščine Devinskih, ki mu je omogočila tudi dostop do Jadranskega morja. Obenem je dedoval vso obsežno posest drugih izumrlih vej rodovine Walsee. (Valvasor, 1689, XI., 608; Huber, 1865, 168, 170; Krones, 1896, 5–16; Doblinger, 1906, 317, 333, 388–434, 561–563; Jurković, 2005). Na svojih južnih posestih je sicer živel samo občasno in glavno rezidenco je imel v Linzu.

5 Cf. Höfler, 2013, 197; Bradanović, 2017, 116.

Po smrti so ga pokopali v družinski grobnici v spodnjeavstrijskem samostanu Säusenstein (Doblinger, 1906, 405, 432, 433). Na območjih Istre in Reke je njegovo ime povezano z nekaterimi gradnjami (Bradanović, 2017, 119, 123; Višnjić, 2018, 97), a pri tem ni ugotovljeno, ali je bil dejansko njihov pobudnik. Po smrti ga je kot gospodar na Premu in na vseh drugih številnih njegovih posestih nasledil sin Rajnpreht IV. (III.) (okoli 1407–1450), ki je izšel iz zakona s Katarino Devinsko in ki je bil od leta 1440 vrhovni maršal Avstrije, tako kot njegov oče pa je opravljjal tudi delo gornjeavstrijskega deželnega glavarja. Prav tako kot očeta so ga pokopali v Säusensteinu. (Doblinger, 1906, 399, 430–455, 565; Bradanović, 2017, 116; cf. Baucer, 1991, 333). Njegovo posest sta dedovala sinova Wolfgang V. († 1466) in Rajnpreht V. (IV.) († 1483), ki sta v glavnem živelna dvoru cesarja Friderika III. Wolfgangu so z delitvijo posesti leta 1464 pripadli mesto Reka, kaštela Veprinac in Moščenice, mesto Kastav z mitnico v Klani, grad Gotnik ter gospodstvo Šembije in to posest je z oporoko zapustil cesarju Frideriku III. Rajnpreht je dobil Devin, Štivan, Senožeče in Prem ter te posesti med letoma 1470 in 1472 pod pritiskom prodal cesarju Frideriku III.⁶ Wolfgang je umrl na svojih južnih posestih in najverjetneje so ga pokopali v avguštinskem samostanu na Reki.⁷ Rajnprehta so pokopali ob njegovih prednikih v samostanu Säusenstein (Doblinger, 1906, 456–497, 567; Jurković, 2005; Nared, 2009, 78, 280; Kosi, 2018, 132–133).

Leta 1463, ko je izbruhnil spor med Beneško republiko in Habsburžani, so beneške čete zasedle gospodstvo Novi grad, ki je mejilo na premsko gospodstvo. Novi grad je ostal beneški do leta 1509 in do takrat je imel Prem vlogo gradu na meji med habsburškimi in beneškimi ozemlji (Sapač, 2007, 86).⁸ Po letu 1472 je bil Prem poldrugo stoletje deželnoknežja komorna posest, za katero so skrbeli deželnoknežji oskrbniki oziroma zastavni imetniki. Od konca 14. pa vsaj do sredine 16. stoletja so bili na Premu in tudi na sosednjem Gotniku gradiščani Devinskih, Walseejcev in nato Habsburžanov iz vrst rodovine Oberburg.⁹ Leta 1433 je kot walseejski oskrbnik Prema izpričan Janez Oberburg (Kosi, 2018, 122, 175). Valvasor navaja, da je bil leta 1499 gradiščan na Premu Wolfgang pl. Oberburg, leta 1521 pa Bernardin pl. Raunach († po 1525) (Valvasor, 1689, XI., 39). Raunach je Prem najverjetneje enako kakor Rašpor v Istri prejel leta 1508, potem ko je skupaj s četami grofa Krištofa Frankopana pregnal Benečane, ki so grad z velikim delom Krasko in Brkinov vred

6 Našteta gospodstva so takrat priključili deželi Kranjski (Kos, 1954, 46–47, 50–51, 240–250; Höfler, 2013, 197).

7 Morda je Wolfgang V. Walsee zadnji dve leti svojega življenja preživel na gradu Gotnik. Cf. Doblinger, 1906, 477.

8 Cf. Darovec, 2008, 86; Dugački & Regan, 2018, 170, 172; Kosi, 2018, 131.

9 Na zunanjščini prezbiterija leta 1868 zgrajene župnijske cerkve na Premu je vzdana kamnita plošča z grbom rodovine Oberburg in letnico 1633, ki je nekoč pokrivala vhod v grobničo v predhodnici sedanje cerkve. Ploščo so leta 1867 deloma preklesali in jo opremili z novim napisom. V zgornjem delu se je okoli grba ohranil stari napis, iz katerega je mogoče razbrati, da je bila rodovina Oberburg pobudnica gradnje cerkve v prvi polovici 17. stoletja. Vse kaže, da so člani rodovine Oberburg v tistem obdobju kot oskrbniki živeli na gradu Prem.



Sl. 5

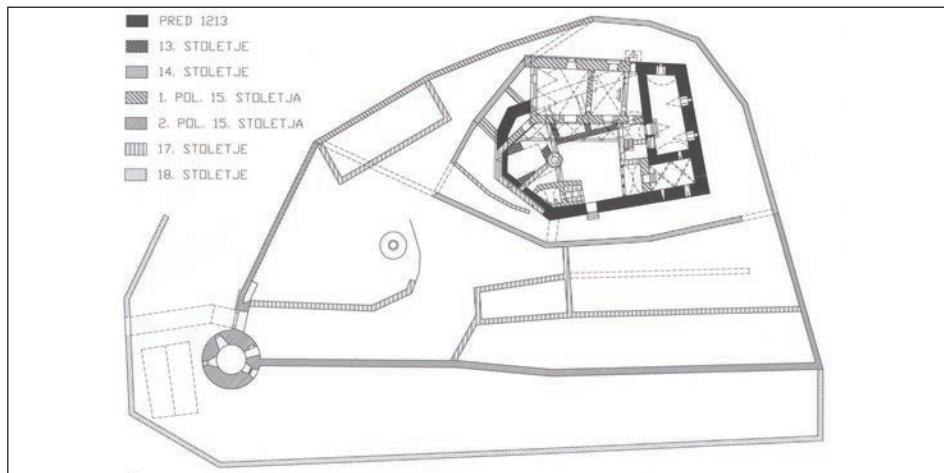


Sl. 6

Sl. 5: *Grajsko jedro s severovzhodne strani* (Igor Sapač, 2018). Sl. 6: *Grajsko jedro z jugozahodne strani* (Igor Sapač, 2018).

zavzeli ob izbruhu vojne z Avstrijo leta 1508.¹⁰ Benečani so Prem zavzeli konec aprila 1508, tako kot številne druge bližnje gradove spomladi tistega leta (Pavlin, 2017, 61; Kosi, 2018, 145). Na začetku junija so cesarski vojaki pod vodstvom grofa Frankopana in postojnskega glavarja Bernardina Raunacha Prem in sosednji Šilentabor znova zavzeli, ju požgali, izropali ter spremenili v pustoto (Simoniti, 2010, 120; Pavlin, 2017, 61; Kosi, 2018, 146). Leta 1526 je kot deželnoknežji oskrbnik na Premu izpričan Bernardinov sin Martin (II.) Raunach (Kosi, 2018, 199, 217). Leta 1597 je kot zastavni gospod na Premu omenjen Andrej Raunach, sin Jakoba Raunacha. V rokah rodovine Raunach grad ostal do začetka 17. stoletja (Smole, 1982, 388; Golec, 2006, 379–380). A še pred tem se je med člane rodovine Raunach za nekaj časa vrinil Jurij Haller s Planine na Notranjskem, ki je kot zastavni gospod deželnoknežje posesti Prem omenjen leta 1567 (Leinmüller, 1865, 68). Haller je na gradu zapustil sledove, saj je bil še v Valvasorjevem času nad vhodom v grad grb rodovine Haller (Valvasor, 1689, XI., 39). Morda se je Haller lotil nujene obnove leta 1508 razdejanega gradu. A obnovitvena dela v njegovem obdobju niso mogla biti prav obsežna, saj poročilo deželnoknežje reformacijske komisije iz leta 1574 navaja, da je grad pogorel in da še ni obnovljen (Golec, 2006, 379). Na začetku 17. stoletja oziroma pred letom 1605 je grad s poroko Ane Marije Raunach, hčerke Andreja Raunacha, z grofom Giovannijem Sforzo Porcia († 1639) prešel v last te vplivne plemiške rodovine. V njeni lasti je skupaj s Senožečami ostal vse do leta 1906 (Probszt-Ohstorff, 1971, 123 ss., 230; Smole, 1982, 388; Sapač, 2007, 110).

10 Cf. Nared, 2009, 165; Kosi, 2018, 152.

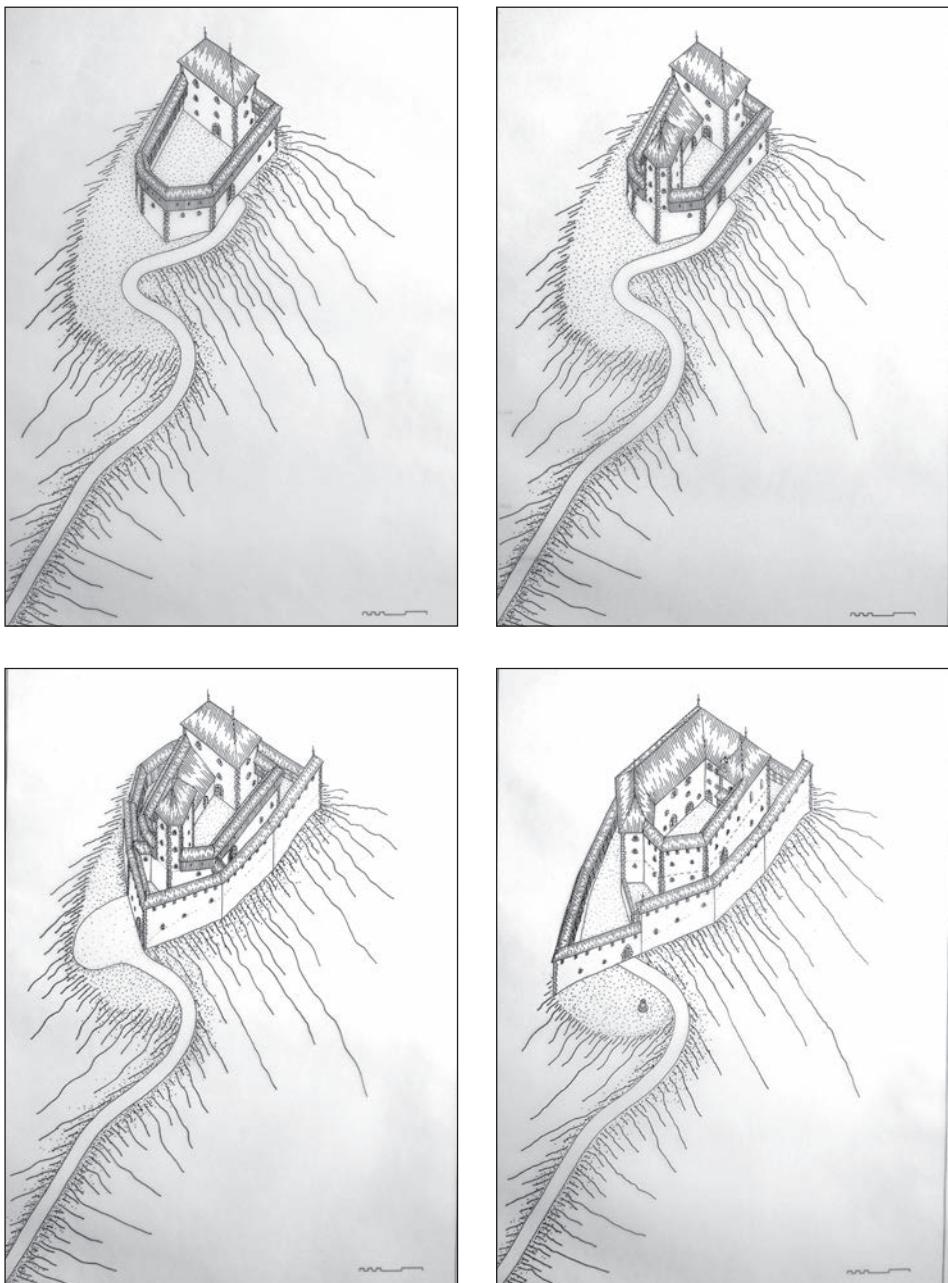


Sl. 7: *Tloris grajskega kompleksa s šrafirano označenimi fazami stavbnega razvoja* (Igor Sapač).

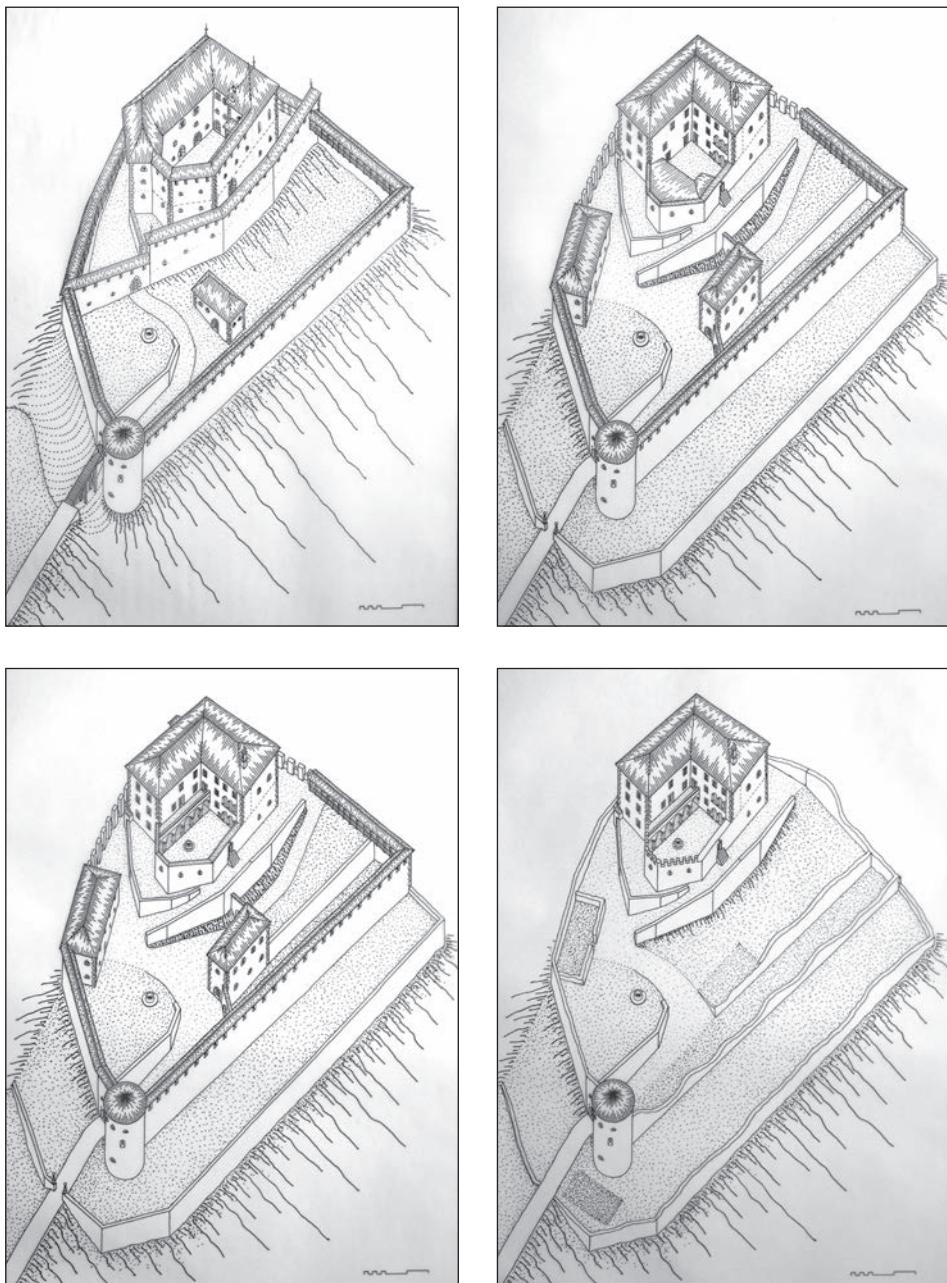
STAVBNA ZASNOVA GRADU V OBDOBJU PRED LETOM 1213

Na podlagi strukturne analize ohranjenih zidov in z upoštevanjem rezultatov arheoloških raziskav je mogoče ugotoviti, da je bila grajska zasnova v prvotni obliki, iz obdobja pred prvo omembbo Prema leta 1213, dokaj skromna. Ta ugotovitev se sklada tudi s podatkom, da je bilo premsko gospodstvo manjše od zemljiških gospodstev Devin in Senožeče. Prvotna zasnova se je prostorsko omejevala na sedanje grajsko jedro na vrhu vzpetine.¹¹ Od nje se je v okviru sedanjega grajskega jedra ohranila samo južna stranica dvoriščnega obzidja in severovzhodni del vzhodnega trakta. Analiza strukture zidave kaže, da je bil prvotni del vzhodnega trakta že na začetku dvonadstropen. Grad na Premu je imel v najzgodnejši obliki podobo značilne manjše obodne grajske zaslove, sestavljenе iz dvonadstropne bivalne stavbe in obrambnega obzidja, ki je zapiralo notranje dvorišče. Obodni zidovi so bili debeli približno 1,8 m in zgrajeni iz pravilnih kvadrov lapornatega peščenjaka, položenega v izravnane plasti. Arheološke raziskave (Osmuk, 1984, 283–284; ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica, tipkopis Nade Osmuk, 2008) so pokazale, da

11 Vsekakor je že v 13. stoletju moralo obstajati tudi srednjeveško predgradje, ki pa ga doslej opravljene arheološke in stavbozgodovinske raziskave še niso mogle zanesljivo locirati. Najbolj verjetna se zdi domneva, da je predgradje s pomožnimi (lesenimi?) grajskimi poslopji in morda tudi z grajskim vrtom stalo zahodno oziroma jugozahodno od sedanjega grajskega jedra, ob dostopni poti do gradu. Morda je v sklopu prvotnega predgradja obstajala tudi cisterna za vodo, morda na lokaciji sedanje, saj so arheološke raziskave pokazale, da pred 17. stoletjem na notranjem grajskem dvorišču ni bilo cisterne oziroma vodnjaka. Sedanji grajski vodnjak na notranjem dvorišču je nastal še med temeljito obnovo gradu okoli leta 1930. Malo je verjetno, da srednjeveški grad ne bi imel lastne oskrbe s pitno vodo vsaj na območju predgradja.



Sl. 8: Aksonometrične risbe s prikazom stavbnega razvoja gradu pred letom 1213, v 13. stoletju, 14. stoletju in v prvi polovici 15. stoletja (Igor Sapač).



Sl. 9: Aksonometrične risbe s prikazom stavbnega razvoja gradu pred letom 1508, v 17. stoletju, 18. stoletju in v prvi polovici 20. stoletja (Igor Sapač).

je bila prvotna severna stranica obodnega obzidja pozneje podrta in da je potekala približno diagonalno glede na sedajo talno ploskev mlajšega severnega trakta. Zahodna stranica obzidja je bila postavljena približno vzporedno z bivalno stavbo in je bila skoraj za polovico daljša od sedanjega tanjšega obzidja na zahodni strani notranjega grajskega dvorišča. V poteku je bila malce zalomljena. Jugozahodni vogal dvorišča je bil – tako kot še danes – poševno prirezan in zamejen z diagonalno postavljenou kratko jugozahodno obzidno stranico, ki je bila enkrat debelejša od sedanjega obzidja. Talna ploskev prvotne grajske zasnove torej ni bila pravokotna, kakor, denimo, pri sosednjih gradovih Senožeče, Postojna ali Gotnik, zgrajenih v 12. oziroma 13. stoletju, marveč so iz osnovnega pravokotnika z merami približno 22 × 33 m izpeljali nepravilno poligonalno oziroma sedmerostranično talno zasnovno.¹² O prvotni višini obodnega obzidja je mogoče sklepati po položaju mlajšega vogalnega kamna z vklesano gotsko rozeto, ki kaže, da je romansko obzidje segalo samo do nivoja tal sedanjega prvega nadstropja. Sledovi morebitnih cin vrh obzidja niso vidni. Upoštevaje ustrezne analogije manjših romanskih gradov s sedanjega slovenskega prostora se zdi najbolj verjetno, da je bilo obodno obzidje na Premu na vrhu sprva opremljeno z lesenim zastrešenim obrambnim hodnikom. Žal je o tem mogoče zgolj domnevati, saj so vrhnji del južnega obodnega obzidja pozneje nadzidali, severni in zahodni del obzidja pa so do temeljev podrli ter nadomestili z novim severnim traktom oziroma z novim zahodnim obzidjem. Tudi prvotni prehod skozi obodno obzidje se ni ohranil. Upoštevaje rezultate arheoloških raziskav in ustrezne analogije je mogoče sklepati, da je bil na lokaciji sedanjega novoveškega vhoda v grajsko jedro, v južni obzidni stranici. Najverjetneje je bil preprosto romansko oblikovan.¹³ Obodno obzidje je bilo sprva gotovo predrto z ozkimi pokončnimi pravokotnimi strelnimi linami, ki so imele navznoter lijakasto razširjeno ostenje.¹⁴ Na južni stranici obzidja je ohranjena ena takšna zazidana lina, vendar ni mogoče z gotovostjo ugotoviti ali je nastala hkrati z obzidjem, saj je postavljena v osi obočne pole mlajšega gotskega oboka pritličnega prostora v notranjščini in njeno ostenje na zunanji fasadi je sestavljeno iz kosov apnenca, ne pa iz lapornatega peščenjaka.

Nekaj značilnih prvotnih stavbnih členov se je ohranilo v zidovju bivalne stavbe, ki je prav tako kakor obodno obzidje v celoti zgrajena iz blokov lapornatega peščenjaka in se je brez bistvenih sprememb v osnovni strukturi zidovja ohranila v sestavu sedanjega vzhodnega grajskega trakta. Zasnovana je na trapezasti talni

12 Vse kaže, da je imel podobno osnovno talno zasnovno bližnji grad Karstberk, ki je najverjetneje nastal približno takrat kot Prem. Cf. Sapač, 2007, 66–71. Prvotno talno zasnovno gradu Prem je mogoče dovolj dobro primerjati tudi s prvotnima talnima zasnovama gradu Celje na Štajerskem in Momjan v Istri, ki sta nastala v 13. stoletju.

13 Za primerjavo lahko služita prvotni pravokotni glavni portal gradu Petrapilosa iz 12. stoletja in prvotni polkrožno zaključeni glavni portal gradu Momjan iz 13. stoletja. Cf. Višnjić, 2018, 213, 248, 261.

14 Tovrstne line so v okviru srednjeevropske grajske arhitekture v 12. in 13. stoletju zelo pogoste. V bližini Prema so ohranjene na istrskih gradovih Pazin in Momjan in jih je okvirno mogoče datirati v 13. stoletje. Cf. Višnjić, 2018, 129, 247.





Sl. 13



Sl. 14

Sl. 13 in 14: Struktura kamnite zidave na severovzhodnem vogalu grajskega jedra (Igor Sapač, 2018).



Sl. 15: Pogled na grad s severovzhodne strani okoli leta 1213. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urša Kogelnik).

ploskvi, ki se približuje pravokotniku v izmeri 8×15 m.¹⁵ Struktura plastovite zidave na zunanjščini je primerljiva z zidavo obodnega obzidja istrskih gradov Petrapilosa (12. in 13. stoletje) in Momjan (13. stoletje) (Višnjić, 2018, 191, 247). Severovzhodni vogal je tako kakor jugovzhodni vogal obodnega obzidja sestavljen iz grbasto obdelanih vogalnih kamnov (Schicht, 2011, 185).¹⁶ Oblika in položaj kamnitih blokov na severovzhodnem vogalu potrjujeta ugotovitev, da je je bivalna stavba že na začetku dvonadstropna. Vendar pa struktura zidave na zunanjščini tudi kaže, da je bila prvotna bivalna stavba sprva za približno 1 m nižja od sedanjega vzhodnega grajskega trakta in da so zidovje najverjetneje nadzidali šele v novem veku, v 17. stoletju. Nadzidava je bila morda povezana s postavitvijo nove strešne konstrukcije. Sprva je imela streha najverjetneje bolj strm naklon in pokrita je bila s kamnitimi ploščami ali z lesenimi deščicami.¹⁷ Notranjščino, ki je bila sprva morda predeljena z lesenimi prečnimi stenami, so v obeh nadstropjih osvetljevala manjša preprosta pravokotna okna z okviri iz lapornatega peščenjaka, od katerih sta se dve v zazidani obliki ohranili na vzhodni fasadi.¹⁸ Položaj oken dokazuje, da se etažni nivoji bivalne stavbe nikoli niso bistveno spremenili. Pritličje bivalne stavbe so osvetljevale ozke pravokotne line; sled ene je vidna na območju mlajšega preboja v južni steni. V pritličnem prostoru sta na južni in na severnem delu zahodne stene vidna tudi zazidana loka, ki sta postavljena nizko nad tlemi in sta glede na strukturo zidave nastala hkrati z zidovjem prvotne bivalne stavbe. Njuna pozicija nizko nad tlemi oziroma naravnim skalnim terenom in temelji kaže, da so ju zgradili kot statična razbremenilna loka nad nestabilnim drsečim terenom in ne morda kot vhoda v pritlični del bivalne stavbe. Z njima so premostili neraven naravni skalnat teren in takoj po njuni postavitvi so s kamnitimi bloki zapolnili odprtini pod nima.¹⁹ Lok na steni proti dvopolnemu pritličnemu obokanemu prostoru ob jugovzhodnem vogalu obodnega obzidja dokazuje, da so prostor ob vogalu prizidali sekundarno; če bi južni prostor nastal že hkrati s pritličjem bivalne stavbe bi najverjetneje lok zgradili v višji poziciji in mu tako dali še funkcijo prehoda.

15 Talna ploskev je proporcionalno usklajena z velikostjo obzidanega dvorišča in je primerljiva z velikostjo talnih ploskev bivalnih stavb drugih bivalnih romanskih grajskih stavb na tem območju. Talna ploskev je manjša od npr. talne ploskev prvotne bivalne stavbe na štajerskem gradu Podsreda (10×20 m) iz 12. stoletja in večja od dokumentirane talne ploskev prvotne bivalne stavbe na gradu Momjan v Istri ($5,5 \times 13$ m).

16 Motiv je v slovenskem gradivu redek. Na območju južne Nemčije in Avstrije so grbasti kvadri povezani z monumentalno visokosrednjeveško profano arhitekturo in s poudarjanjem plemiške veljave. V večjem številu se pojavijo okoli leta 1200 in so zelo uveljavljeni skozi celotno 13. stoletje (Schicht, 2011). Na jugovzhodnem vogalu so nad gotsko rozeto najverjetneje med gotsko prezidavo gradu ponovno uporabili starejše grbaste kvadre, ki so jih kombinirali z gladkimi kvadri iz apnenca in ki so jih morda vzeli iz prvotnega jugovzhodnega vogala v prvem in drugem nadstropju bivalne stavbe.

17 O srednjeveški obliki grajske strehe je mogoče domnevati tudi na osnovi upodobitev srednjeveških gradov s strmimi strehami v ozadju figuralnih prizorov na freskah v cerkvah v Beramu (okoli 1474), Hrastovljah (okoli 1490), Gradišču pri Divači (okoli 1490) in Draguču (okoli 1529). Cf. Fučić, 1963, 52, 53, katalog 17, 26; Höfler, 1997, 89–98.

18 Primerljiva okna iz 13. stoletja so dokumentirana na gradu Petrapilosa v Istri. Cf. Višnjić, 2018, 191, 217.

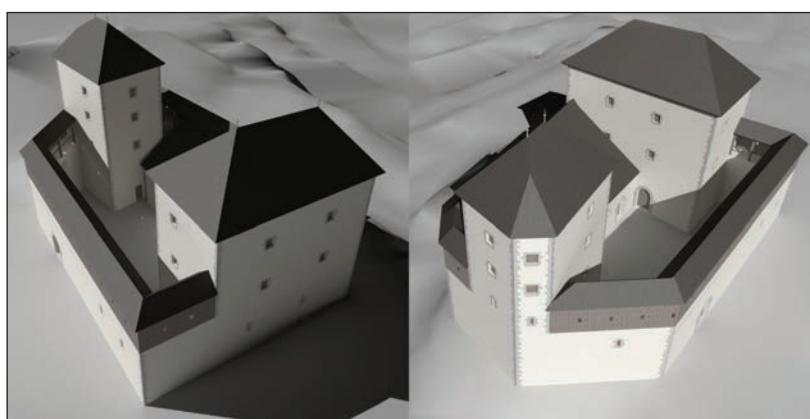
19 Primerljivi srednjeveški razbremenilni loki so se ohranili na gradovih Planina pri Sevnici, Celje in Negova v Slovenskih goricah.

PRVA ŠIRITEV GRADU V 13. STOLETJU

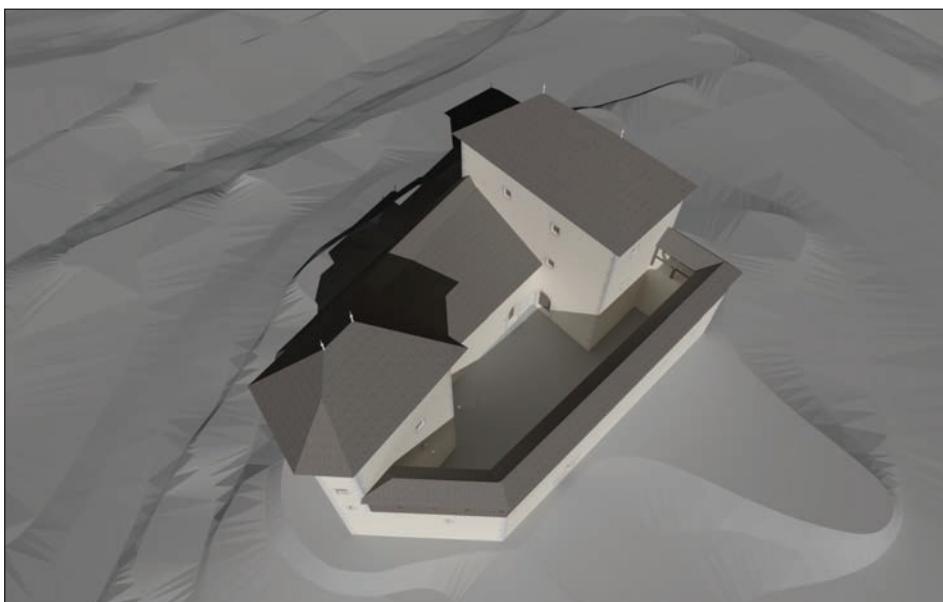
Razmeroma majhna površina notranjih prostorov gradu in po drugi strani njegov čedalje večji pomen sta že zgodaj terjala gradbene širitve. Nova poslopja so nastala z naslonitvijo na notranjo stran prvotnega obodnega obzidja. Arheološke raziskave so na notranjem grajskem dvorišču razkrile sledove temeljev dveh ločenih na obzidje prislonjenih zidanih poslopij, ki so ju odstranili že pred 15. stoletjem, ko je namesto njiju nastal sedanji severni grajski trakt.



Sl. 16: Pogleda na grad iz zraka z zahodne in jugovzhodne strani okoli leta 1213. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urša Kogelnik).



Sl. 17: Pogleda na grad iz zraka z jugovzhodne in zahodne strani sredi 13. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urša Kogelnik).



Sl. 18: Pogled na grad iz zraka z jugozahodne strani sredi 13. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urša Kogelnik).

Prvo poslopje so naslonili na severno stranico prvotnega obodnega obzidja. Pod sedanjam pritličnim dvoriščnim arkadnim hodnikom severnega trakta so arheološka izkopavanja razkrila ostanke treh zidov, na osnovi katerih je mogoče sklepati, da je bilo na severno stranico obodnega obzidja in na severni del zahodne dvoriščne stene prvotne bivalne stavbe prislonjeno pomožno poslopje z dvema različno velikima vzporednima notranjima prostoroma. Vsi trije zidovi so bili razmeroma tanki, njihovi temelji pa slabo grajeni iz apnenca. V notranjščini nekdanjega poslopja so raziskave razkrile netlakovano površino z ostanki preprostega ognjišča, kar kaže, da je poslopje vsaj občasno služilo tudi bivalnim potrebam. Zaradi odsotnosti drobnega gradiva med arheološkimi raziskavami poslopja ni bilo mogoče časovno natančneje opredeliti (ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica, tipkopsis Nade Osmuk, 2008). Na osnovi razmeroma tankih (80 cm) in slabo grajenih zidov je mogoče sklepati, da je bilo poslopje nizko, najverjetneje z golj pritlično. Primerjati ga je mogoče z dokumentiranimi nekdanjimi pomožnimi poslopjema iz 13. stoletja na gradovih Podsreda in Celje. Tovrstna poslopja, v katerih so pogosto umestili glavno grajsko kuhinjo,²⁰ so zaradi funkcionalnih potreb največkrat postavili kmalu po dokončanju obodnega obzidja in glavnega bivalnega poslopja. Zato je najbolj verjetna domneva, da je pomožno poslopje nastalo še pred koncem 13. stoletja.

20 Smiselna je primerjava s prvotno kuhinjo v srednjeveškem jedru gradu Negova v Slovenskih goricah.

Ob notranji strani zahodnega vogala obodnega obzidja so arheološke raziskave razkrile skromne in nepovezane ostanke treh zidov, debelih približno 130 cm, ki so bili tako kakor obodno obzidje grajeni iz velikih blokov lapornatega peščenjaka in s kakovostnim maltnim vezivom. Ostanka dveh zidov sta bila z dokumentirano cezuro naslonjena na zahodno in jugozahodno obodno zidovje. Odkrite ostanke je mogoče z obodnim zidovjem povezati v pregledno talno ploskev peterokotne oblike oziroma pravokotne oblike z navzven zalomljeno zahodno stranico (ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica, tipkopis Nade Osmuk, 2008). Tako rekonstruirana talna ploskev meri v dolžino 9,5 m in v širino 6,4 m. Struktura zidave odkritih ostankov zidov kaže, da so pripadali neki stavbi, ki ni mogla nastati prav dosti za obodnim obzidjem. Debelina dokumentiranih zidov, njihov položaj ob najbolj izpostavljenem vogalu obodnega obzidja in velikost rekonstruirane talne ploskve kažejo, da je tam najverjetneje stal visok srednjeveški grajski obrambni stolp – bergfrid iz obdobja pred koncem 13. stoletja, ko je v srednjeevropskem prostoru nastalo največ tovrstnih stolpov. Potencialnim sovražim napadom najbolj izpostavljena stran stolpa je bila oblikovana kot klin. Po analogijah smemo domnevati, da je imel stolp štiri ali pet etaž in vhod na dvoriščni strani, v prvem nadstropju ali še višje.²¹ Spodnje etaže so osvetljevale ozke pravokotne line, zgornje etaže pa manjša pravokotna okna oziroma na vrhu cine. Z dodanim stolpom, ki so ga postavili na najvišji točki grajskega kompleksa, je prvotna zasnova pridobila arhitekturno monumentalnost, dodatno obrambno sposobnost, simbolni pomen in dodatne notranje prostore.²² Natančnejša datacija domnevnega stolpa na Premu glede na skromnost odkritih ostankov ni mogoča. Utemeljena je domneva, da je bila njegova gradnja povezana tudi z osamosvajanjem Devinskih od oglejskega patriarhata v 13. stoletju.

DODATNO UTRJEVANJE GRADU V 14. STOLETJU

Razmeroma zgodaj so grad okreplili še z zunanjim obrambnim obzidjem, ki je dokaj tesno koncentrično obdalo grajsko jedro. Obzidje je sedaj na vseh straneh skoraj do tal podrto, a v svojem poteku še skoraj v celoti razpoznavno. Nekoliko nejasen je samo potek na jugozahodni strani, kjer so obzidje med poznejšimi širitvami povsem odstranili. Severna stranica novega obzidja je potekala približno vzporedno s severno stranico prvotne obodne grajske zasnove in je bila od nje oddaljena največ 8 m. Južna stranica obzidja je najverjetneje stala na lokaciji sedanjega obnovljenega kamnitega eskarpnega zidu pred vhodom v grajsko jedro. Severna stranica obzidja je imela po upodobitvi v knjigi skic za Valvasorjevo Topografijo Kranjske (Valvasor,

21 Smiselna je primerjava s stolpom gradu Momjan iz 13. stoletja; postavljen je na približno kvadratni talni ploskvi v izmeri $6,6 \times 6,6$ m in ima proti dvorišču v pritličju samo 1 m debele zidove. Visok je skoraj 15 m in ima na vrhu cine. Cf. Višnjić, 2018, 221, 247.

22 V slovenskem prostoru je dokumentiranih več primerov, ko so v 12. in 13. stoletju z dodajanjem novih stolpov – bergfridov dopolnili starejše obodne zasnove. Značilni primeri so gradovi Podsreda, Šoštanj, Žovnek, Rihemberk ali Lož. V Istri je značilen primer grad Petrapilosa, ki je prav tako v drugi fazi gradbenega razvoja na notranji strani obodnega obzidja dobil nov glavni grajski stolp. Cf. Višnjić, 2018, 203.

2001, slika 28) na vrhu cine z dekorativnimi zaključki v obliki lastovičjih repov, ki so bili v pozнем srednjem veku značilni zlasti na severnoitalijanskih območjih. Vsekakor je verjetno, da je imelo obzidje že od začetka na vrhu cine.²³ Na najbolj izpostavljeni severozahodni strani je bilo novo obzidje debelo kar poldruži meter. Na temelje tega dela zidu, ki se je prislanjal na zaključek zahodnega zidu notranjega dvorišča, so naleteli med arheološkimi raziskavami in so sedaj prezentirani na terenu. Ker so ostanki zunanjega obzidja skromni, zaraščeni in v veliki meri obnovljeni, ni mogoča analiza strukture prvotne zidave. Natančnejše datiranje bi bilo mogoče z nadaljevanjem arheoloških raziskav na območju grajskega medzidja. Glede na analogije²⁴ je povsem utemeljena domneva, da je zunanje obzidje stalo že v zgodnjem 14. stoletju. Morda so ga zgradili, ko so se po 13. stoletju dogajala nasprotja med goriškim Švarcenekom in devinskim Premom (Kosi, 2018, 37, 42). Vsekakor je nastalo še pred nadaljnjiimi širitvami gradu v zgodnjem 15. stoletju in ga je treba povezovati z Devinskimi. Grad je v 14. stoletju, če že ne prej, dobil tudi kapelo; prvič je posredno izpričana z omembo kaplana leta 1366 (Höfler, 2001, 179). V stavbni zasnovi kapele iz časa pred 15. stoletjem doslej ni bilo mogoče identificirati. Zgolj ugibati je mogoče ali je bila v prvotni bivalni stavbi ali pa v domnevnom visokem obrambnem stolpu.

PREZIDAVE IN ŠIRITVE GRADU OD POZNEGA 14. STOLETJA DO ZADNJE TRETJINE 15. STOLETJA

Novo veliko poglavje srednjeveške gradbene zgodovine premskega gradu se je začelo, ko so izumrle Devinske nasledili Walseejci. Takrat so grajsko stavbo temeljito prenovili in povečali v gotskih oblikah. Po doslej opravljenih stavbno-zgodovinskih in arheoloških raziskavah je mogoče sklepati, da so bili takratni gradbeni posegi usmerjeni predvsem na grajsko jedro. Dokaj skromna prvotna bivalna stavba je v tistem obdobju postala dokončno pretesna. Majhno in s pomožnimi objekti prenapolnjeno dvorišče ni omogočalo gradnje novih dodatnih stavbnih traktov. Zato so podrli prvotno severno stranico romanskega obodnega obzidja, skupaj z njo pa tudi nanjo prislonjeno pomožno stavbo in domnevni visoki obrambni stolp na zahodni strani notranjega grajskega dvorišča. Stolp so morda podrli zaradi težav s temelji na spolzkom lapornatem terenu. Zgolj ugibati moremo ali so grad pred obsežnimi gradbenimi deli prizadeli tudi vojaški spopadi in/ali požari zaradi udarov strel.

Podrto severno stranico obodnega obzidja in pomožno stavbo so nadomestili z novim dvonadstropnim severnim traktom, ki je zasedel tudi del površine severnega medzidja in s katerim se je stanovanjska površina gradu več kot podvojila. Od prvotnih

23 Cine na zunanjem obzidju iz 14. stoletja so v bližini dokumentirane na gradu Petrapilosa (Višnjić, 2018, 197).

24 Smiselna je primerjava z gradovi Celje, Waldenberk pri Radovljici in Petrapilosa v Istri, ki so zunanja obzidja dobili v drugi polovici 13. stoletja oziroma v 14 stoletju. Cf. Višnjić, 2018, 197, 204–218.



Sl. 19



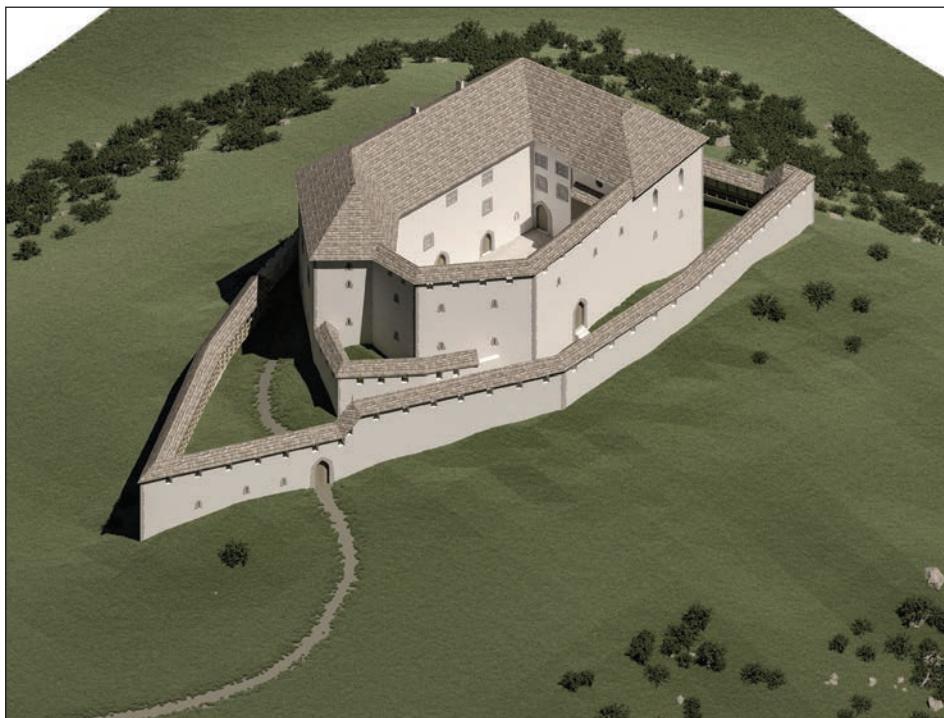
Sl. 20

Sl. 19 in 20: Fragmenti gotskih stavbnih členov na nekdanji dvoriščni fasadi prvotne romanske bivalne stavbe (Igor Sapač, 2018).

stavbnih členov sta se na tem traktu v pritličju na dvoriščni steni ohranili pravokotni gotski okenci s poševno prirezanimi kamnitimi zunanjimi ostenji. V nadstropjih in na severni fasadi se prvotni stavbni členi zaradi poznejših predelav niso ohranili. Severno fasado so v 17. stoletju – najverjetneje zaradi posledic požara in dolgotrajnega propada v 16. stoletju – v celoti obzidali z novim zunanjim zidnim plaščem²⁵ in takrat so odstranili oziroma zakrili tudi vse prvotne gotske stavbne člene. Analizo strukture prvotne zidave v glavnem onemogočajo ometi na zunanjščini in v notranjščini. Na severozahodnem vogalu so tako kakor na jugozahodnem vogalu vidni neometani vogalni kamni, ki so nastali hkrati z novoveško obzidavo severne fasade; takrat so odstranili tudi prvotni srednjeveški severozahodni vogal, ki je stal 1 m zahodno od sedanjega. Arheološka izkopavanja so razkrila, da je sedanja zahodna fasada severnega trakta postavljena nad starejšim zidom,²⁶ ki pa je nastal po odstranitvi prvotnega

25 Novoveška obzidava je homogena in ne kaže sledov prezidav.

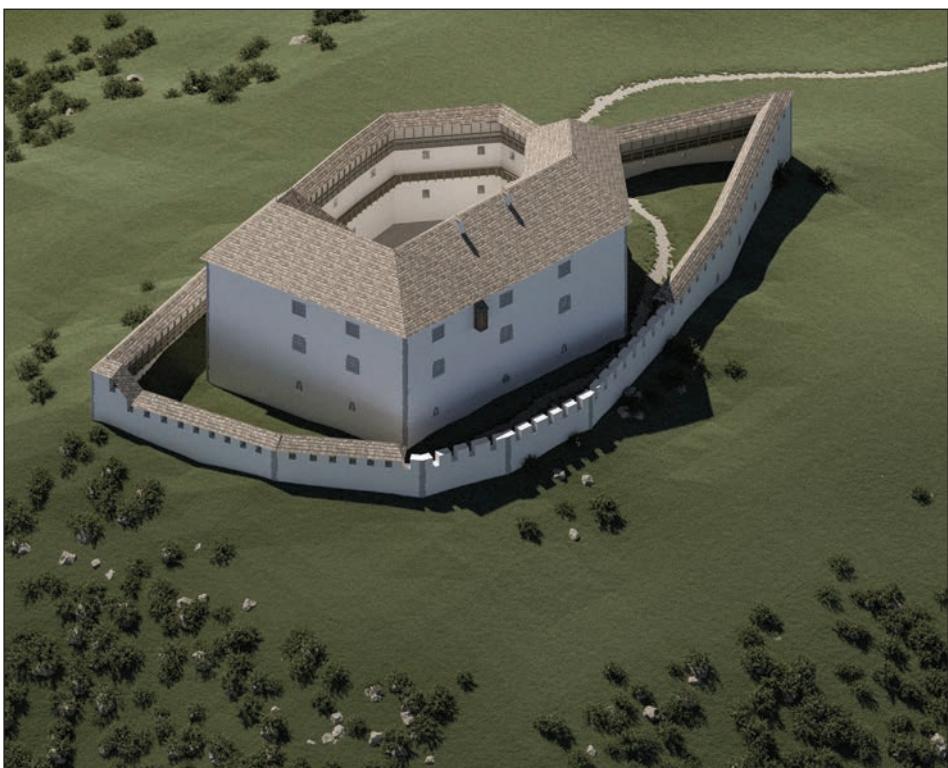
26 Ostanek tega zidu je sedaj prezentiran na terenu.



Sl. 21: *Pogled na grad iz zraka z jugozahodne strani sredi 15. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Anej Lešnik).*

romanskega obodnega obzidja. Gotski severni trakt sprva torej ni imel sedanjega zahodnega fasadnega zidu, ki je nastal šele med obnovo v 17. stoletju.²⁷ Arheološka izkopavanja so tudi pokazala, da so hkrati z gradnjo novega severnega trakta zgradili tudi njegov manjši severozahodni podaljšek, ki je bil postavljen diagonalno nanj in ki glede na razmeroma tanke (90 cm) zidove, ni mogel biti višji od njega. Lokacija tega podaljška dokazuje, da so pred njegovo gradnjo odstranili domnevni glavni grajski stolp in da so ga zgradili z naslonitvijo na notranjo stran severozahodne stranice zunanjega grajskega obrambnega obzidja. Ker so morali zaradi gradnje severnega trakta in njegovega severozahodnega podaljška odstraniti del zunanjega obzidja, so gotovo že takrat zgradili tudi nov zahodni del obzidja; oblikovali so ga klinasto oziroma koničasto in z njim se je grajski kompleks podaljšal še bolj proti zahodu, do skrajnega zahodnega konca vrha grajske vzpetine oziroma do lokacije poznejšega novoveškega gospodarskega poslopa.

27 Sedanji prostor z glavno grajsko dvorano v nadstropjih je bil v 15. stoletju torej na zahodu daljši in je imel najverjetneje peterokotno talno ploskev.



Sl. 22: Pogled na grad iz zraka s severovzhodne strani sredi 15. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Anej Lešnik).

Hkrati z gradnjo novega severnega trakta so temeljito preoblikovali tudi prvotno romansko bivalno stavbo. Na njeni dvoriščni fasadi so v pritličju vzdali šilastoločni gotski portal, v prvem nadstropju večje pravokotno pozognogotsko okno z bogato profiliranim ostenjem, kamnitim delilnim križem in vklesanim kamnoseškim znakom (Klemenčič, 2008, 218), v drugem nadstropju pa manjše pravokotno pozognogotsko okno s preprosteje profiliranim ostenjem in brez kamnitega križa.²⁸ Romansko obodno zidovje na južni strani dvorišča so nadzidali do vrha drugega nadstropja in mu dali značaj visokega ščitnega zidu; to kaže nastavek zidu ob mlajši arkadni loži v prvem nadstropju.²⁹ Na južni strani so romanski bivalni stavbi z naslonitvijo na jugovzhodni vogal obodnega zidu hkrati prizidali dvonad-

28 Največje okno v prvem nadstropju kaže, da je bila tam, poleg kapele, glavna grajska dvorana, v drugem nadstropju pa so bili najbrž spalni prostori.

29 Pravilna plastovita zidava iz blokov lapornatega peščenjaka na zunanjščini kaže, da so material za gradnjo obodnih zidov kapele morda dobili iz podrtega dela severnega in zahodnega romanskega obodnega zidu.

stropni stolpasti objekt z grajsko kapelo v vrhnjem delu. Vhod v kapelo so uredili preko lesenega mostovža, ki se je najverjetneje navezoval na prostore v prvem nadstropju romanske bivalne stavbe in na domnevne mostovže ob nadzidanem obodnem obzidju. Nova grajska kapela je obsegala višino dveh etaž in je imela tla v viši tal prvega nadstropja. Pod njo so uredili križnorebrasto obokan nizek prostor, ki je prav tako dobil dvopolno obočno shemo.³⁰ Kapela je dobila preprost pravokoten tloris in poudarili so jo z elegantnim obočnim sistemom, ki so ga v 17. stoletju sicer odstranili, a je gotovo obsegal dve kvadratni poli križnorebrastega oboka. Ta je slonel na okroglih služnikih s plastično oblikovanimi kapiteli. Zaradi vpetosti v starejšo stavbno strukturo kapela ni dobila posebnega oltarnega prostora. Osvetljena je bila skozi okenci na južni steni, ki sta bili sprva najverjetneje šilastoločno zaključeni in višji od sedanjih utilitarnih novoveških pravokotnih okenc. Značilno oblikovani kamnoseški deli, ki so označeni s številnimi kamnoseškimi znaki,³¹ kažejo, da so kapelo na Premu morda zgradili mojstri, ki so za Hermana II. Celjskega gradili samostansko cerkev v Lepoglavi na Hrvaškem. Ohranila sta se sklepna kamna prvotnega rebrastega oboka z vklesanima grboma Devinskih in Walseejcev, kar kaže, da so jo zgradili po izumrtju Devinskih leta 1399, ko so posest prevzeli Walseejci. Grba rodovin je mogoče različno interpretirati: ali so Walseejci z dedovanjem devinskih posestev prevzeli tudi njihov grb ali pa devinski grb pravzaprav pripada ženi Reinpprechta II., Katarini Devinski († 1435), s katero se je poročil leta 1406 (Peskar, 2005, 171–172, 244–245). Bolj verjetna je prva možnost.³²

Zdi se, da je imel najpomembnejšo vlogo pri preobrazbi romanskega gradu v reprezentativno utrjeno poznosrednjeveško plemiško rezidenco Rudolf I. Walsee († 1405), ki je dejanski gospodar gradu postal že takoj po smrti Huga VIII. Devinskega leta 1390 in je pozneje kot tržaški glavar do smrti v glavnem živel na območju med Devinom, Trstom in Reko. Po njegovi smrti so imeli tudi na gradbeni razvoj gradu vsekakor velik pomen tudi gradiščani iz vrst rodovine Oberburg, saj so se drugi pripadniki rodovine Walsee v teh krajih zadrževali samo občasno. Za Rajnprechta II. Walseeja je imel grad morda pomen kot rezidenca ob

30 Funkcija tega prostora ni pojasnjena. Morda je šlo za spodnjo kapelo, namenjeno grajskim poslom. Podobna situacija je v 14. stoletju dokumentirana na gradu Planina pri Sevnici; pod visoko rebrasto obokano gotsko grajsko kapelo so v pritličju uredili nizek obokan prostor.

31 Razvidnih je osem različnih znakov. Eden – kvadrat, iz katerega izhaja križ – je enak kot na bogato profiliranem poznogotskem okenskem okviru na nekdanji dvoriščni fasadi prvotne bivalne stavbe. Cf. Peskar, 2005, 245; Klemenčič, 2008, 218.

32 Sklepnika z grboma Walseejcev in Devinskih sta tudi na zvezdasto-mrežastem rebrastem oboku poznogotskega prezbiterija župnijske cerkve sv. Nikolaja v Pazinu, ki je nastal pod walseejsko upravo Pazina do leta 1441; Walseejski grb je nad glavnim oltarjem, Devinski grb pa je zahodno od njega. Okoli njiju so še številni drugi manjši sklepniki z grbi drugih plemiških rodovin (Šiklić, 2006, 33, 34, 41, 53, 54, 82, 84, 91). Grb Walseejcev je ob nastanku fresk leta 1470 oziroma ob zadnjem restavriranju po prvi svetovni vojni na zgornjem in spodnjem pasu namesto črne barve dobil rdečo barvo ter zato sedaj zmotno učinkuje kot avstrijski grb. Devinski grb je ohranil prvotno barvno podobo in dokazuje, da je bil v avtentični obliki v uporabi še več desetletij po izumrtju Devinskih.



Sl. 23: Pogled na grad z dostopne poti na jugozahodni strani sredi 15. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Anej Lešnik).



Sl. 24: Pogled obrambno obzidje z lesenimi hodniki v zahodnem grajskem medzidju sredi 15. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Anej Lešnik).

poti do Reke, kjer je bil v avguštinski samostanski cerkvi sv. Hieronima pokopan tudi njegov tast Hugo VIII. Devinski.³³

Pri natančnejši časovni opredelitvi velike gotske predelave premskega gradu si je mogoče pomagati z analogijami iz istrskega prostora. Pravokotno tlorisno zasnova kapele z dvema kvadratnima križnorebrasto obokanima polama in brez dodatnega oltarnega prostora je mogoče dobro primerjati s podružnično cerkvijo sv. Katarine v Lindarju blizu Pazina, ki je nastala pred letom 1409, ko so datirane freske v njeni notranjščini (Fučić, 1963, 29, katalog 10). Nadzidavo obodnega obzidja je mogoče primerjati z gradom Petrapilosa, kjer so prvotni nižji obodni zid iz 12. stoletja v 14. stoletju visoko nadzidali in ga na vrhu opremili z značilnimi cinami (Višnjić, 2018, 191). Pravokotni gotski okenci na dvoriščni fasadi severnega trakta je mogoče primerjati z okenci v prvem in drugem nadstropju južne fasade gradu Pazin, ki so datirana v zgodnje 15. stoletje (Višnjić, 2018, 131, 142). Profilacija okna v prvem nadstropju nekdanje gotsko preoblikovane dvoriščne fasade premskega gradu je dobro primerljiva s profilacijo dveh lin nad glavnim portalom in sekundarno zazidanega okanca v prvem nadstropju južne dvoriščne fasade gradu Pazin (Višnjić, 2018, 147, 152). Omenjene stavbne člene na gradu v Pazinu je mogoče datirati z vklesanim napisom na dveh kamnitih reliefnih trakovih nad uokvirjenimi kamnitimi grbi Walseejcev, Avstrije oziroma avstrijskih nadvojvod in Devinskih, zazdanimi nad glavnim portalom. Napis v gotski minuskuli je sicer deloma poškodovan, a še je mogoče razbrati: *d(ie) hoch gepor(e)n v(nd) ed(l) n h(e)rn paid prud(er) vo(n) w(alsee), (her Rein)precht v(nd) h(er) Frider(ich) // haben (dieses?) castel (gem?)awrt anno cccc v-o* (Višnjić, 2018, 88, 97, n. 54). V prevodu: Viskorojena in plemenita gospoda brata pl. Walsee, gospod Rajnpreht in

33 Hugo VIII. Devinski je v oporoki leta 1390 dal zapisati, da želi biti pokopan »pri avguštincih v svojem mestu Reki« (Kosi, 2015, 415; Kosi, 2018, 91, 93). Njegov zet Rajnpreht II. Walsee je samostanu potrdil njegovo darovnico in poskrbel za obnovo samostanskega poslopja, zgrajenega okoli leta 1315 (Jurković, 2005). Domnevno so v času Rajnprehta II. Walseeja cerkvi prizidali dolgi kor (Bradanović, 2017, 119, 123). Njegov sin Rajnpreht IV.(III.) (okoli 1407–1450) je leta 1429 potrdil darovnico svojega deda Huga VIII. Devinskega (Jurković, 2005). Valvasor (Valvasor, 1689, XII., 104) navaja, da so grofje Walsee, ki jim je nekdaj pripadalo vse mesto, na Reki ustanovili tamkajšnji avguštinski samostan in da sta tam pred visokim oltarjem samostanske cerkve pokopana dva brata iz te rodotovine. Valvasor je tudi še videl njun skupni figuralni nagrobnik, ki sedaj ni več ohranjen (Bradanović, 2017, 117). Nagrobnik je najverjetneje propadel v drugi polovici 18. stoletja, ko so cerkev temeljito prezidali in ji dali skoraj v celoti enotno baročno podobo. Na osnovi uporabljenih virov ni mogoče potrditi točnosti Valvasorjeve navedbe o skupaj pokopanih dveh bratih Walsee. Morda so skupaj pokopali Rudolfa I. Walseeja († 1405) in njegovega brata Friderika V. († 1408), a to se ne zdi preveč verjetno, ker je Friderik umrl na gradu Nieder-Walsee v Spodnji Avstriji (Doblinger, 1906, 399). Morda je pri omenjenem epitafu šlo obenem za Rudolfov nagrobnik in za Friderikov kenotaf. Po drugi strani smemo pomisliti na skupni grob Huga VIII. Devinskega in Huga IX. Devinskega, ali pa celo na skupni grob Huga VIII. Devinskega in Rudolfa I. Walseeja. Niti ni mogoče povsem izključiti možnosti, da je šlo za skupni grob Rudolfa I. Walseeja in Wolfganga V. Walseeja († 1466). Cf. Baucer, 1991, 333; Doblinger, 1906, 477. Vsekakor je vprašanje identitete na Reki pokopanih plemiških pokojnikov pomembno tudi z vidika razumevanja rezidenčnega pomena gradu Prem in naročništva njegove ambiciozne gotske predelave. V cerkvi so v 15. stoletju pokopavali tudi člane plemiških rodovin Raunach in Ravbar, o čemer pričajo ohranjeni nagrobeni spomeniki.



Sl. 25: Pogled na vzhodni del notranjega grajskega dvorišča z dostopom v kapelo sredi 15. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Anej Lešnik).

gospod Friderik // sta ta grad zgradila leta 1405. Torej sta Rajnpreht II. Walsee († 1422) in njegov brat Friderik V. († 1408) po smrti njunega starejšega brata Rudolfa I. († 1405) in pred letom 1408 temeljito prenovila pazinski grad in ga opremila z novim glavnim portalom.³⁴ Primerjava gotskih elementov gradu Prem s tistimi na gradu v Pazinu potrjuje spoznanje, da so obsežno gotsko predelavo gradu na Premu izvedli zatem, ko so je prešel v posest gospodov Walsee. Povsem mogoče je, da so se dela začela pod Rudolfom I., zaključila pa pod njegovim bratom Rajnprehtom II. Malo je verjetno, da bi jih začel šele Rajnpreht II., saj zanj Prem najverjetneje ni imel posebnega rezidenčnega pomena. Prezidava gradu se je vsekakor zgodila v obdobju, ko je bila gradbena ambicioznost Walsejcev na vrhuncu.³⁵ Z njo se je število grajskih bivalnih površin podvojilo, težišče obrambe pa skoraj povsem preneslo iz jedra na zunanje obzidje.

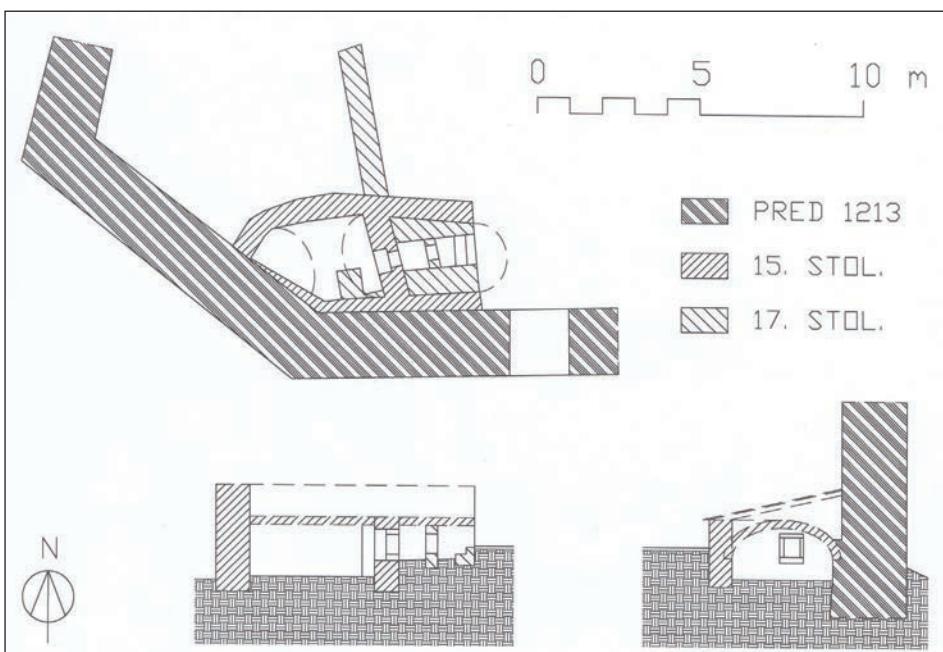
34 Med prenovo pazinskega gradu so nastali številni novi stavbni členi in na njih je, podobno kakor na Premu, vklesano precejšnje število kamnoseških znakov (Višnjić, 2018, 147). V okviru te raziskave ni bilo mogoče opraviti primerjave kamnoseških znakov s Prema in Pazina, kar bi lahko odgovorilo na vprašanje ali so morda na Premu in Pazinu v zgodnjem 15. stoletju delovali isti mojstri.

35 Tu je treba omeniti, da je bil Ulrik IV. Walsee v zadnjem desetletju 14. stoletja glavni pobudnik gradnje monumentalne romarske cerkve na Ptuijski Gori.



Sl. 26: Pogled na zahodni del notranjega grajskega dvorišča z odkopanimi ostanki srednjeveške ječe na levi strani med arheološkimi raziskavami leta 1982 (ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica).

Po odstranitvi domnevnega visokega glavnega grajskega stolpa so na jugozahodnem delu notranjega grajskega dvorišča, zahodno od prehoda na dvorišča, z naslonitvijo na južni obodni zid postavili manjše iz kamna zidano poslopje, ki so ga napol vkopali v teren in opremili z banjastim obokom. Njegove zasute ostanke so razkrila arheološka izkopavanja v letih 1982 in 1983 (Osmuk, 1984, 283–284; ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica, tipkopis Nade Osmuk, 2008). Ivan Stopar ga je zaradi odsotnosti svetlobnih odprtin, tal 1 m pod tlemi grajskega dvorišča, banjastega oboka, etažne višine samo približno 1,6 m in močnega zapaha na zunanjji strani vrat, ki so bila široka le približno 0,5 m, opredelil kot grajsko ječo. Ječo, ki je bila dolga 3,7 m in široka 2,5 m ter povezana z delovanjem sodišča na gradu, so – značilno za srednjeveške gradove – umestili v bližino vhoda na grajsko dvorišče in nastala je najverjetneje še preden so zgradili valjasti stolp v sklopu zunanjega grajskega obzidja, v katerem je bila upoštevaje analogije poznejša ječa. Vsekakor



Sl. 27: Tloris, vzdolžni in prečni prerez izkopane srednjeveške ječe na notranjem grajskem dvorišču z označenimi stavbnorazvojnimi fazami in poskusom rekonstrukcije nekdanje strešne konstrukcije (po dokumentaciji iz ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica dopolnil in izrisal Igor Sapač).

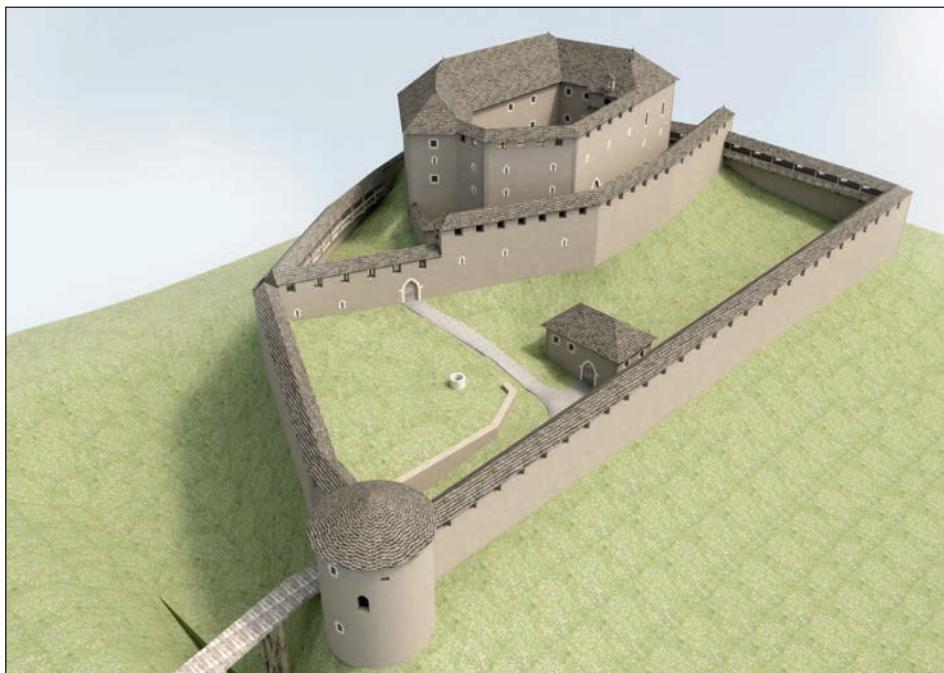
je ječa na notranjem grajskem dvorišču nastala še preden so tega med obnovo v 17. stoletju preuredili.³⁶ Morda so jo zgradili hkrati z odstranitvijo domnevnega glavnega grajskega stolpa, v katerem je bila najverjetneje prva grajska ječa.³⁷

PROTITURŠKO UTRJEVANJE GRADU

Po letu 1471, ko so se tudi na območje v porečju Reke začeli vrstiti turški napadi (Baucer, 1991, 367–368; Valvasor, 1689, XV., 373), se je grad pod deželnoknežjimi oskrbniki iz vrst rodovine Oberburg iz udobne poznosrednjeveške plemiške rezidence vse bolj spremenjal v utrdbo z dodatno funkcijo protiturškega pribelžališča oziroma tabora za okoliško prebivalstvo. Pod gradom je ob Reki potekala sekundarna smer turških vpadov (Bajt & Vidic, 2011, 94). Grad je dodatni vojaški pomen dobil že

36 Takrat so vhod v ječe še dodatno zavarovali z 90 cm ozkim hodnikom pred vhodom, ki so ga na sredini zaprli še z dodatnimi vratci.

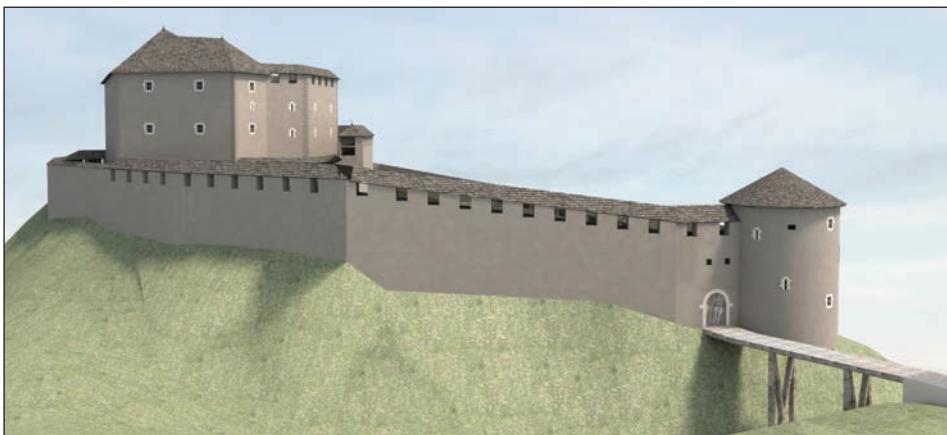
37 Opozoriti je treba, da je tloris ječe prilagojen tlorisu porušenega domnevnega glavnega grajskega stolpa, kar kaže, da so jo najverjetneje zgradili, ko so stali vsaj še ostanki stolpa.



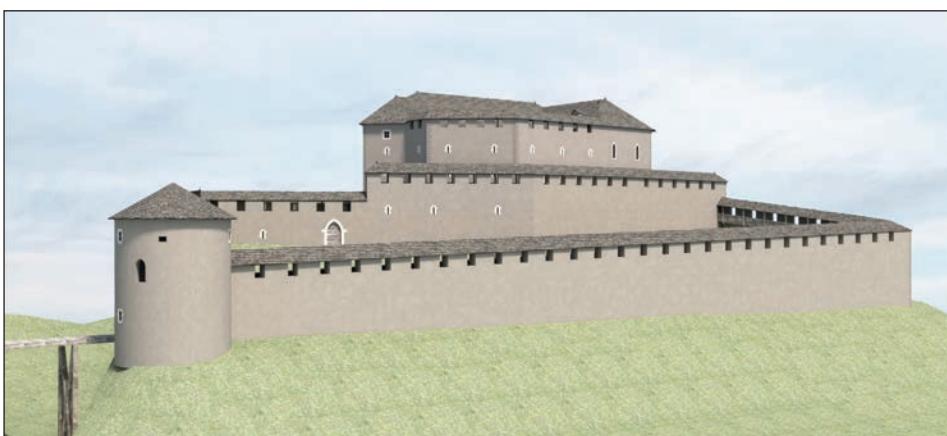
Sl. 28: *Pogled na grad iz zraka z jugozahodne strani okoli leta 1500. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urban Anželak).*

malce prej, ko so leta 1463 beneške čete zasedle sosednje gospodstvo Novi grad. Do takrat postopno izoblikovanemu stavbnemu kompleksu so zaradi obrambnih potreb na južni strani, na položnem pobočju vzpetine, dodali obsežen obzidan areal trapezaste tlorisne oblike in z njim se je površina obzidanega grajskega območja podvojila. Areal so na zahodu, jugu in vzhodu zamejili s tremi obzidnimi stranicami, ki so se navezale na starejše zunanje obzidje grajskega jedra iz 14. in 15. stoletja, ter ga na jugozahodnem vogalu, ob novem glavnem vhodu v grajski kompleks, zavarovali z močnim dvonadstropnim valjastim stolpom z 2,3 m debelimi stenami in 9 m v premeru veliko talno ploskvijo.³⁸ V novi zahodni obzidni stranici so tik ob stolpu uredili polkrožno zaključen nov glavni grajski portal s pozognotsko profiliranim ostenjem. Do portala so čez širok obrambni jarek, ki je nastal hkrati z obzidjem, speljali leseni mostovž z vzdižnim mostom. Čeprav je protiturško obzidje sedaj v glavnem porušeno je njegov potek še v celoti razpoznaven in po zahodni stranici sodeč je bilo dokaj

38 Dokaj visoki stolp je mogoče primerjati s protiturškimi valjastimi stolpi na Taboru nad Bačem pri Materiji, v Dolenji vasi pri Senožečah, v Podpeči pod Kraškim robom, na Taboru nad Povirjem ter v utrdbah Hrastovlje in Starci oziroma Gradin v Slovenski Istri (Sapač, 2012, 113–149). Sprva je bil morda pokrit s strmo stožčasto kamnitno streho.



Sl. 29: Pogled na grad z zahodne strani okoli leta 1500. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urban Anželak).



Sl. 30: Pogled na grad z južne strani okoli leta 1500. Poskus rekonstrukcije (Urban Anželak).

visoko ter na vrhu na notranji strani opremljeno z lesenim obrambnim hodnikom.³⁹ Dolga južna stranica obzidja je bila v svojem poteku rahlo stopničasto zalomljena, kar je vidno tudi na upodobitvi v mapi franciscejskega katastra iz leta 1823 (ARS – SI AS 176/A/A132/g/A02).

39 Opozoriti je treba, da je bilo zahodno obzidje na začetku 20 stoletja že zelo razrušeno in je sedaj v zgornjem delu rezultat obnovitvenih del v obdobju po prvi svetovni vojni oziroma po letu 1927, ko je bil lastnik gradu Bruno Zuccolini. Stanje pred obnovo kaže fotografija na stekleni plošči št. f08366-001s-b, ki jo hrani INDOK.

Uporabljeni viri ne omogočajo natančnejšega datiranja protiturških utrdbenih elementov grajskega kompleksa. Pri datiranju si je mogoče pomagati z oblikovnimi značilnostmi glavnega portala in valjastega stolpa. Oboje omogoča datacijo še v zadnjo tretjino 15. stoletja, a pri tem ni mogoče povsem izključiti nastanka v prvi tretjini 16. stoletja. Po drugi strani valjasti stolp z navzven razširjenimi strelnimi linami in dokaj nepravilno oziroma površno gradnjo z grobo obdelanimi lomljenci kaže, da ni mogel nastati pred drugo polovico 15. stoletja. Glede na to, da so v bližini Prema leta 1471 začeli graditi mogočni grajski kompleks Šilentabor, da so približno takrat začeli graditi tudi grad Jablanica in da je moralno plemstvo takoj po začetku obsežnejših turških vpakov v zadnji tretjini 15. stoletja zavarovati podložnike (Sapač, 2007, 30, 151; Sapač, 2018, 447), je utemeljena domneva, da so že takrat začeli utrjevati tudi grad na Premu.⁴⁰ Vsekakor so grad utrdili že pred njegovim razdejanjem v vojni med Beneško republiko in Avstrijo leta 1508. O tem je mogoče sklepati tudi na podlagi podatka, da je bil grad na začetku 16. stoletja dokaj dobro oborožen. Inventarni popis, ki je nastal v obdobju kralja Maksimiljana I. (1459–1519), navaja: 1 železno havbico, 1 bakreni četrtrinski top z železnim obročem, 1 bakreni možnar, 6 železnih možnarjev, 15 starih in novih kavljastih pušk, 1 tovor smodnika, 50 funtov svinca, 400 puščic, 60 kamnitih krogel za havbice. Gradu je pripadalo 13 kavljastih pušk, 1 železna kača in 800 krogel (Lazar, 2017, 146).

RAZDEJANJE GRADU LETA 1508

Protiturške utrdbene gradnje in razmeroma dobra oborožitev nista mogla preprečiti beneškega zavzetja gradu aprila 1508, niti ponovnega zavzetja in požiga gradu junija 1508 s strani cesarskih vojakov. V prvem nadstropju prvotne dvoriščne fasade prvotne grajske bivalne stavbe odkrito sekundarno zazidano pravokotno poznogotsko okno z bogato profiliranim ostenjem kaže značilne posledice požara – zaradi vročine je peščenjak postal deloma rdečkaste barve in je razpokal. Požar, ki je poškodoval okno, se je vsekakor zgodil pred 17. stoletjem, ko so okno zazidali in ga zakrili z novim stopniščem. Posledice požara je mogoče videti tudi v spodnjem delu severne fasade prvotne bivalne stavbe; tudi tam so kamni zaradi vročine dobili rdečkasto barvo. Morda so fasado poškodovali goreči leseni hodniki zunanjega obrambnega obzidja. Ni mogoče z gotovostjo trditi, da so vse omenjene poškodbe nastale med istim požarom in da se je ta požar zgodil leta 1508, a se zdi to glede na razpoložljive pisne vire najbolj verjetno, saj drugi požari na gradu v njih niso izpričani. Na posameznih stavbnih delih je mogoče opazovati, da je bilo grajsko jedro dalj časa po požaru prepuščeno propadu. Zlasti kapiteli vogalnih služnikov v grajski kapeli kažejo, da so bili dolgo izpostavljeni zamakanju. Domnevati smemo, da je bila kapela

40 Utegnili bi tudi pomisliti, da je obsežni obzidani areal nastal v povezavi s funkcijo mitnice, ki je na Premu v zvezi s prehodom v Istro izpričana od konca 15. stoletja in v 16. stoletju (Kosi, 1998, 244). Vendar pa iz uporabljenih virov ni mogoče razbrati ali je mitnica stala v sklopu gradu oziroma naselbine Prem. Cf. Golec, 2006, 381.

več let oziroma celo desetletij po požigu leta 1508 brez strehe in da so zaradi poškodb na koncu morali odstraniti njen prvotni rebrasti obok. Zastavni imetnik Jurij Haller je okoli leta 1567 najverjetneje izvedel samo najnujnejša zaščitna dela in glede na njegov izpričani grb nad vhodom v grad smemo pomisliti, da je poskrbel zlasti za obnovo zunanjega grajskega obzidja, ki je bilo v nemirnih časih turških vpadov za obstoj gradu najpomembnejše.

Do celovitejše obnove gradu je prišlo šele v 17. stoletju, ko je grad prešel v last rodovine Porcia.⁴¹ Sveti Marjeti posvečeno grajsko kapelo so glede na Valvasorjevo navedbo obnovili do leta 1615 (Valvasor, 1689, XI., 39). Pri tem so njen gotski rebrasti obok nadomestili z novim križnogrebenastim, ohranili pa gotske služnike ter sklepnika Devinskih in Walseejcev, ki so ju vzidali v stene. Zaključek velikih obnovitvenih del je najverjetneje povezan z letnico 1645, ki je vklesana na prekladi glavnega portala grajskega jedra.⁴² Do takrat so do tal podrli severozahodni podaljšek gotskega severnega trakta in ta trakt opremili z novo dvoosno zahodno fasado, sanacijsko kamnitno obzidavo severne fasade in novimi stavbnimi členi. Prvotni romanski bivalni stavbi so na dvoriščni strani dozidali udobno stopnišče in nadstropno arkadirano ložo pred grajsko kapelo, pri tem pa zazidali gotski portal in obe gotski okni s profiliranimi kamnitimi okviri. Pod arkadna steba v nadstropju so v parapetni zidec vzidali figuralno reliefno okrašena konzolasta stranska podpora elementa renesančnega kamina.⁴³ Oba trakta sta dobila v pritličju banjaste oboke in v celoti nove okenske okvire. Vse kaže, da so temeljito prenovili tudi bivalne prostore v nadstropjih. Obnovili so tudi dvoriščno

41 Grad so obnavljali v času, ko sta bila njegova lastnika Giovanni Sforza Porcia († 1639) in njegov znameniti sin Janez Ferdinand Porcia (1605–1665). Cf. Probszt-Ohstorf, 1971, 123 ss., 230; Smole, 1982, 388.

42 Na dvoriščni strani portala je na segmentnem loku njegovega ostenja vzidan renesančno oblikovan sklepnik z grbom plemiške rodovine Oberburg, ki kaže, da je ta rodovina tudi v tistem obdobju upravljala premski grad in vodila njegovo prenovo. Približno takrat, ko so temeljito obnavljali grad, so na Premu s podporo rodovine Oberburg, začeli graditi tudi župnijsko cerkev, ki jo je leta 1868 v glavnem nadomestila sedanja stavba. Cerkvena stavba iz 17. stoletja je dokumentirana z ohranjenimi vklesanimi letnicami 1633 (plošča z grobnice rodovine Oberburg v novo zgrajeni cerkvi), 1655 (fragment kamnitega oltarja), 1658 (zvonik) in 1677 (porton pokopališkega zidu ob cerkvi).

43 Elementa kamina so v dvoriščno fasado gotovo vzidali že preden so v 18. stoletju – najverjetneje v času obnove gradu pod Jožefom Porcio okoli leta 1768 – na dvorišču ob severnem traktu zgradili pritlični arkadni hodnik, ki je imel do obnove gradu po letu 1927 tudi podaljšek do arkad pred kapelo. To kaže fotografija na stekleni plošči št. f08366-002s-b, ki je nastala pred letom 1927 in jo hrani INDOK. Glede na to, da sta elementa kamina vzidana pod nosilnima stebroma arkad v nadstropju, je malo verjetno, da bi ju tja namestili sekundarno, saj bi bilo to povezano s precejšnjim tveganjem za statično stabilnost arkadnega hodnika. Samo ugibati moremo ali sta elementa, na katerih sta v obliki herm vklesana ženski in moški lik, sprva pripadala kaminu v glavni dvorani gradu Prem, ali pa so ju – bolj verjetno – prepeljali z beneškega prostora in ju nikoli niso uporabili kot kaminska elementa, za kar sta bila sicer sprva nedvomno predvidena. Glede na manieristične slogovne značilnosti je kaminska elementa mogoče datirati v čas okoli leta 1600 oziroma v zgodnje 17. stoletje. V slovenskem prostoru ju je mogoče primerjati s podobnimi elementi iz poznega 16. stoletja v dvorcu Vipolže v Goriških Brdih in s stranskima deloma umivalnika v zakristiji nekdanje mino-ritske cerkev v Celju iz leta 1612. Cf. Cevc, 1981, 261. Levi kaminski element z ženskim likom je bil od 18. stoletja do obnove po letu 1927 zakrit s parapetnim zidcem vrh pritličnega arkadnega hodnika. V času Zuccolinijeve obnove gradu po letu 1927 so obzidavo, ki jo kaže omenjena fotografija na stekleni plošči, odstranili. Od takrat moški lik znova svoji ženi kaže jezik in ona se jezi.



Sl. 31



Sl. 32

Sl. 31: Grb rodovine Oberburg na dvoriščni strani vhoda v grajsko jedro (Igor Sapač, 2018). Sl. 32: Grb rodovine Oberburg na plošči iz leta 1633, ki je nekoč pokrivala vhod v grobnico v župnijski cerkvi na Premu (Igor Sapač, 2018).

obzidje in ga na zahodni strani na starih temeljih na novo zgradili, pri tem pa z notranje strani stanjšali za dobro polovico. Ohranjeni del starega obzidja so znižali do višine tal prvega nadstropja in samo nastavek v podaljšku kapale še kaže nekdanjo višino iz 15. stoletja. Na notranji strani obzidja so zgradili pomožno pritlično poslopje v katerega so vključili tudi starejšo obokano ječo. Z naslonitvijo na severozahodno zunanje obzidje je na območju domnevnega srednjeveškega predgradja zraslo večje podolžno pravokotno nadstropno gospodarsko poslopje s hlevom v pritličju in kaščo v nadstropju.⁴⁴ Obenem so podrli južni zunanji zid grajskega jedra, ostanek pa preoblikovali v škarpo poti do grajskega jedra. Pred glavnim vhodom v grajski kompleks so zasuli obrambni jarek in pred južno stranico protiturškega obzidja so uredili vrtno teraso. Grad je s temi posegi dobil podobo, ki jo kaže Valvasorjeva upodobitev iz okoli leta 1678 in ki se tudi pozneje ni več bistveno spremenjala.

44 Poslopje je bilo v času nastanka franciscejskega katastra leta 1823 (ARS – SI AS 176/A/A132/g/A02) še v celoti ohranljeno, do leta 1930, ko je nastala razglednica gradu, pa je od njega ostala samo še nadstropna severozahodna stena, ki so jo pozneje znižali do vrha nekdanjega pritličja.

SKLEP

Čeprav so dokaj obsežni obnovitveni posegi v prvi polovici 17. stoletja poskušili gradu nadeti videz novoveške plemiške rezidence oziroma dvorca, njegovega srednjeveškega značaja niso mogli temeljiteje zabrisati in je zato še sedaj mogoče razmeroma dobro razbirati posamezne fazne njegovega srednjeveškega gradbenega razvoja. Po letu 1927, ko je grad postal last tržaškega zdravnika in ljubitelja starin Bruna Luigija Zuccolinija (Lannes, 1936; Sapač 2007, 112–133), se je začela temeljita sanacija zanemarjenega in izpraznjenega poslopja v občasno zasebno rezidenco. Prenova je bila dokaj romantizirajoče naravnana ter je obenem kazala neprikrite simpatije obnavljalcev gradu do fašističnega režima in naglo razvijajočega se italijanskega nacionalizma.⁴⁵ A prav zaradi takrat opravljenih gradbenih del, ki enako kakor posegi v 17. stoletju niso bistveno zabrisala osnovnega srednjeveškega stavbnega značaja, je grad obstal in ga je dandanes mogoče obravnavati kot pomemben avtentični grajeni srednjeveški zgodovinski vir.

Poglobljena gradbenozgodovinska analiza kaže, da je grad v srednjem veku doživel razgiban razvoj in vsaj petih časovno razmaknjenih stavbnih fazah. Ob tem ni mogoče potrditi domneve, da je nastal na lokaciji rimske utrdbe oziroma z vključitvijo antičnih grajenih ostalin. Njegov gradbeni razvoj je potekal v odvisnosti od njegovih vsakokratnih rezidenčnih, upravnih, obrambnih, gospodarskih in tudi sakralnih funkcij. Sprva dokaj skromna in utilitarno oblikovana stavbna zasnova na dominantnem višinskem položaju je do konca 15. stoletja dobila monumentalno razgibano grajsko podobo z diferenciranim jedrom in kompleksnim sistemom zunanjega obrambnega obzidja. V zgodnjem 15. stoletju je kot arhitekturna umetnina doživel svoj vrhunec in takrat je dobil novo grajsko kapelo, ki je bila ena najbolj ambiciozno oblikovanih srednjeveških kapel na gradovih v slovenskem prostoru. Natančnejša opredelitev njegovega gradbenega razvoja potrjuje spoznanje, da je treba srednjeveške gradove tudi z gradbenozgodovinskega vidika obravnavati kot kompleksne fenomene, ki nazorno ilustrirajo splošno zgodovinsko dogajanje v danem prostoru. Rezultati gradbenozgodovinske analize gradu na Premu so pomembni tudi v zvezi s poglobljenimi raziskavami srednjeveške grajske arhitekture v notranjosti Istre, ki so šele v povojuh in zaradi številnih fragmentarno ohranjenih stavb zelo otežkočene. Vzporednice se kažejo zlasti z istrskimi gradovi Pazin, Petrapilosa in Momjan.

Na koncu je treba še dodati, da pričujoča študija nikakor ne pomeni zaključka gradbenozgodovinskih raziskav premskega gradu. Njen temeljni cilj je še doddano poudariti veliki spomeniški pomen tega gradu. Vedenje o njegovi gradbeni

45 Prenova gradu po letu 1927 je vsekakor v veliki meri upoštevala tudi spomeniškovarstvene vidike. Tako so dokaj obzirno dopolnili porušeno obzidje nad glavnim portalom v grajski kompleks, znova so odprli v 19. stoletju utilitarno zazidane arkade v pritličju dvoriščne fasade vzhodnega trakta in odstranili so podaljšek pritličnih arkad severnega trakta, ki je zakrival element kamina z ženskim likom. Zanemarjena in propadajoča podoba gradu, po vojaški uporabi med prvo svetovno vojno in pred začetkom prenove leta 1927, je dokumentirana na treh fotografijah na steklenih ploščah, ki jih hrani INDOK.

zgodovini bo mogoče dopolniti in zaokrožiti po izvedbi arheoloških raziskav na dokaj razsežnem območju med grajskim jedrom in zunanjim obzidjem, tako pa bi bilo mogoče zaključiti tudi prizadevanje za korektno dokumentacijo, ohranitev in prezentacijo grajskega kompleksa, ki traja že vse od leta 1970.

Članek posvečam spominu kastelologa in medievista dr. Ivana Stoparja (1929–2018).

MEDIAEVAL BUILDING HISTORY OF PREM CASTLE

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SUMMARY

The most recent renovation work at Prem Castle has provided new insight into the mediaeval building history of the edifice. A detailed analysis has revealed that the castle underwent a dynamic development in the Middle Ages over at least five temporally spaced building phases. The assumption that it was constructed on the site of an old Roman fortification or with the incorporation of ancient built remains, however, could not be confirmed. The castle's architectural development was determined by its respective residential, administrative, defensive, economic, as well as religious functions. Initially fairly modest and utilitarian, erected at a dominant, elevated position, the building had by the late 15th century assumed a monumental and castellated appearance with a differentiated nucleus and a complex system of curtain walls. As an architectural work of art it peaked in the early 15th century, gaining a chapel, which was one of the most ambitiously designed castle chapels among all its mediaeval counterparts in Slovene territories. A more detailed analysis of the castle's architectural development corroborates the understanding that mediaeval fortifications should, including in terms of construction history, be treated as complex phenomena which plastically illustrate the general historical developments in a given area. The results of the building history analysis of Prem Castle are also important in relation to in-depth research of mediaeval castle architecture in inland Istria, which is still in its infancy and made difficult due to the considerable number of edifices preserved in mere fragments. Parallels can be drawn especially with the Istrian castles of Pazin, Petrapilosa and Momjan.

Keywords: Prem, building history, castellology, architecture, Romanesque, Gothic, house of Duino, the Walsees

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RODBINA KONJIŠKO–ROGAŠKIH

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IZVLEČEK

Teme pričajočega besedila so izvor, delovanje, dosežki ter konec rodbine gospodov Rogaških – stranske veje rodbine Konjiških. Namen članka je najprej poiskati podatke o vseh pomembnejših članih rodbine, zatem pa opisati njihovo politično participacijo. V času, ko je rodbina obstajala je bilo politično stanje na področju današnje slovenske Štajerske precej nestabilno. Rogaški so morali politične poteze zato vleči kar se da previdno. Smemo jih prištevati med osem v 13. stoletju najmočnejših rodbin današnje slovenske Štajerske. Do odgovorov na naša vprašanja pridemo z analizo ohranjenih pisnih virov, t. i. Deželne knjige Avstrije in Štajerske ter raznovrstnih listin.

Ključne besede: gospodje Rogaški, današnja slovenska Štajerska, 12. in 13. stoletje, ministeriali, Otokar II. Přemysl, Habsburžani, Studenice

LA DINASTIA DEI KONJIŠKO–ROGAŠKI

SINTESI

Il presente saggio tratta le origini, le attività e l'apice e la fine della dinastia dei Signori di Rogatec – ramo minore della dinastia di Konjice. Con l'articolo si è voluto innanzitutto cercare i dati di tutti i più importanti membri della dinastia e poi descrivere il loro coinvolgimento politico. Durante tutto il periodo dell'esistenza della dinastia la situazione politica dell'odierna Stiria slovena era molto instabile e di conseguenza la signoria di Rogatec dovette agire con molta prudenza. Potremmo stimare che era tra le otto più potenti dinastie del secolo XIII nel territorio dell'odierna Stiria slovena. L'analisi delle fonti scritte, i cosiddetti Libri delle provincie d'Austria e della Stiria e vari documenti ci offrono le risposte alle nostre domande.

Parole chiave: nobili di Rogatec, Stiria slovena, XII e XIII secolo, ministeriali, Ottocaro II di Boemia, Casa d'Asburgo, Studenice

UVOD¹

Namen pričujočega članka je raziskati izvor, delovanje, dosežke in konec celotne rodbine gospodov Rogaških, hkrati pa izpostaviti njene najpomembnejše člane. Rodbina je obstajala in bila politično aktivna v času med koncem 12. stoletja ter koncem 13. stoletja. Pri pisanju smo uporabljali avstrijsko in slovensko strokovno literaturo s področja srednjeveške zgodovine. Med uporabljenimi viri je treba izpostaviti t. i. Deželno knjigo Avstrije in Štajerske (*Landbuch von Österreich und Steier*) ter zbrano listinsko gradivo za zgodovino Štajerske, ki so ga v prejšnjem stoletju zbrali in izdali Joseph von Zahn (UBSt I-III), Heinrich Appelt in Gerhard Pferschy (UBSt IV), Franc in Milko Kos (Gradivo IV-V) ter France Baraga (na podlagi gradiva Boža Otorepca) (Gradivo VI). Poleg tega bomo med drugim uporabljali še gradivo za srednjeveško zgodovino Koroške (MDC), ki sta ga zbirala August von Jaksch in Hermann Wiessner.

V preteklosti so se raziskovalci z rodbino Rogaških že srečevali, a so jo še najbolj pogosto omenjali le bolj ali manj bežno in povezavi z neko širšo temo. Ignacij Orožen je Rogaške omenjal v sedmem delu svoje monumentalne *Das Bisthum und die Diözese Lavant* (Orožen, 1889, 186–189). Zatem se je rodbini na nekaj straneh tretje knjige svojega dela *Landesfürst und Adel in Steiermark* posvetil Hans Pirchegger (Pirchegger, 1958, 237–243). Slednji je Rogaške sicer omenjal tudi v svojem kasnejšem delu *Die Untersteiermark*, a je šlo v tem primeru le za nekaj kratkih besed (Pirchegger, 1962, 233). V sklopu svoje obravnave rogaškega gospodstva je rodbino na kratko obravnaval Jože Koropec (Koropec, 1974, 74, 76). Prav tako je Rogaške z nekaj besedami omenil Dušan Kos v svoji knjigi *Vitez in grad* (Kos, 2005, 298–299, 365). Jože Mlinarič jih je obravnaval kot ustanovitelje dominikanskega samostana v Studenicah (Mlinarič, 2005, 7–10). Sam sem nekaj članov rodbine bežno omenjal v nekaj člankih (Bele, 2012, 548; Bele, 2016, 20–21), prav tako pa še v monografiji o spodnještajerskih plemičih 13. stoletja (Bele, 2018a, 42, 46–47, 72, 74, 76, 101, 103–104, 108, 125).

Za razliko od naštetih del, bomo dotično rodbino oz. predvsem njene najpomembnejše člane, v sledečih vrsticah predstavili čim bolj celovito. Da bi bralec bolje razumel splošne razmere v katerih so njeni člani živeli in delovali, se bomo v pričujoči raziskavi, še preden se posvetimo sami rodbini, posvetili pregledu politične zgodovine tako današnje slovenske Štajerske kot tudi širše vzhodnoalpske regije od konca 12., do začetka 14. stoletja.

SPLOŠEN POLITIČNI PREGLED

Druga polovica 12. stoletja je bila v prostoru čas sprememb in postopnega nastajanja kasnejših dežel. Na področju kasnejše vojvodine Štajerske sta vladala štajerski mejni grof Otokar III. (vladal v letih 1129–1164) in njegov sin Otokar IV. (vladal v letih 1164–1192). Otokar III. je bil v sorodu z najmočnejšimi knezi

1 Članek je nastal v okviru programske skupine Oddelka za zgodovino na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru št. P6-0138: *Preteklost severovzhodne Slovenije med slovenskimi zgodovinskimi deželami in v interakciji z evropskim sosedstvom*, ki ga financira ARRS.

Svetega rimskega cesarstva. Cesar Friderik I. Barbarossa in saško-bavarski vojvoda Henrik Lev sta bila njegova bratranca (Dopsch, 1980, 111; Elster, 1940, 27–105). Pred tem si je Otokarjeva rodbina svoj deželnoknežji položaj utrdila v srečnem nizu dedovanj, ki se je začel že leta 1122. Takrat je Otokarjev oče v svoje roke dobil dragocena relativno zaokrožena in sklenjena področja ob zgornji Muri ter ob Murici. Otokar sam je trend nadaljeval. Leta 1147 je na križarskem pohodu v Mali Aziji umrl Bernhard Spanheimski, lastnik velikih posesti v današnjem slovenskem Podravju. Njegova dediščina je Otokarjem na slovenskih tleh prinesla pomembne ministerialne rodbine in gospodstva, med drugim področje današnje Radgone, Maribora in Laškega. Otokarjevo gospodstvo se je na jugu razširilo do razvodja med Dravo in Savinjo, z laškim gospodstvom pa je dosegel celo Savo. Na severu je Otokarju III. še ena bogata dediščina (leta 1158) prinesla Pittensko grofijo severno od Semmeringa (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 97–98).

Po Otokarjevi smrti je sicer zavladal njegov sin in soimenjak mladi Otokar IV. Ta je leta 1180 sicer dobil naslov štajerskega vojvode, dinastije pa ni zmogel več nadaljevati. Na njegovo nesrečo so se na njegovem telesu namreč vedno bolj kazali znaki neozdravljive bolezni (viri govorijo o gobavosti ali slonovi bolezni). Svojo deželo je zapuščal vedno redkeje. Ker je bil neporočen, se je namenil še pred svojo smrtnjo poskrbeti za prihodnost svoje dežele, ki je ni mogel zapustiti potomcem (Dopsch, 1999, 273–298). Najhitreje je uspelo reagirati avstrijskemu vojvodi Leopoldu V. Babenberškemu, ki je avgusta 1186 z bolnim štajerskim vojvodo sklenil t. i. Georgenberški ročin. Z njim je štajerskim ministerialom zagotovil njihove pravice. Po Otokarjevi smrti (maja 1192) je Leopold prevzel še njegovo vojvodino (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 99; Spreitzhofer, 1986, 25–27).

Dobro stoletje pred obdobjem političnih uspehov mejnega grofa Otokarja III. je Hema Krška, plemkinja odličnega rodu in vdova po savnijskem mejnem grofu Viljemu II., v Krki na današnjem avstrijskem Koroškem ustanovila samostan (leta 1043) (Kosi, 2008, 528–532). Bogato ga je obdarila z zemljo, tako na današnjem avstrijskem Koroškem, kot slovenskem Štajerskem. Težišče od Heme izvirajočih krških posesti je bilo na Kozjanskem. Tam je ležalo pet krških t. i. glavnih fevdov, ki so imeli izrazit obrambni značaj. To so bili: Lemberg pri Poljčanah, Rogatec, Podsreda, Planina in Kunšperk (MDC II, št. 602; Kos, 2005, 21).

Novoustanovljeni samostan je leta 1043 po obsegu svojih posesti daleč prekašal vse druge tedaj obstoječe samostane. Kakor kaže pa se tamkaj živeče nune niso strogo držale pri ustanovitvi predvidenega pravila sv. Benedikta in že okrog leta 1070 je bil samostan razpuščen – razpustil ga je salzburški nadškof Gebhard (1060–1088). Funkcija pokrajinskega škofa v Gebhardovem času še ni povsem prešla v pozabovo in tako je kot zaščitnik nekdanjega samostana njegove posesti namenil novi škofiji. Tej je bila kot sedež namenjena Krka (Amon, 1993, 50). Ko je dobil dovoljenje tako od papeža Aleksandra II. (MDC I, št. 27) kot od kralja Henrika IV. (MDC I, št. 30), je Gebhard maja 1072 ustanovil Krško škofijo ter kot njenega prvega škofa tam nastavil in posvetil Guntherja (Obersteiner, 1969, 15). V časovnem obdobju, ki nas zanima, je Krški škofiji načelovalo 13 škofov. Šlo je za Ditrika I. (1179–1194),

Vernerja (1194–1195), Ekeharda (1196–1200), Valterja (1200–1213), Otona (1214), Henrika II. (1214–1217), Udalšalka (1217–1221), Ulrika (1221–1253), Ditrika II. (1253–1278), Janeza (1279–1281), Konrada (1281–1283) Hartnida (1283–1298) in Henrika III. (1298–1326) (Obersteiner, 1969, 468). Vsi ti so se vključevali v politiko vzhodnoalpskega prostora in v njej igrali bolj ali manj pomembne vloge.

Po prevzemu oblasti na Štajerskem (leta 1192) je vojvodska dinastija Babenberžanov tako Avstriji kot Štajerski vladala do svojega izumrtja (leta 1246). Vrh omenjene dinastije je vsekakor predstavljalo obdobje vladavine vojvode Leopolda VI., ki se je raztezalo čez več kot tri desetletja (1194/1198–1230). Leopoldu je sledil edini preživel si Friderik II., ki si je s svojim jezljivim, vihrovim in bojaželjnim vedenjem prisluzil pridevek Preprirlivec. Po njegovi smrti leta 1246 se je v vzhodnoalpskem prostoru razbesnel boj za t. i. babenberško dediščino, ki je (z daljšimi ali krajšimi presledki) trajal skoraj štiri desetletja. Še največ uspeha sta v prvih letih imela ogrski kralj Bela IV. ter češki kralj Otokar II. Přemysl. Po težkih bojih sta omenjena dinasta sklenila mirovni sporazum v Budimu aprila 1254. Avstrija je zdaj pripadla Otokarju, Štajerska pa Beli (Štih & Simoniti, 2009, 103, 111, 115–117). Štajerci so bili vse bolj nezadovoljni z Belovo vlado v njihovi deželi zato so se mu konec petdesetih let uprli. Otokar Přemysl je izkoristil nastalo situacijo, podprl štajersko plemstvo in ogrsko vojsko julija 1260 pri Großenbrunnu odločilno premagal. Obema vojvodinama je zatem vladal vse do leta 1276 (Bele, 2018a, 18–20, 27–35).

Oktobra 1273 je bil za novega vladarja v Svetem rimskem cesarstvu izvoljen Rudolf Habsburški. Novi kralj Rudolf je kmalu po svojem kronanju začel s postopanjem proti Otokarju Přemyslu in skušal zmanjšati njegovo moč. Slednji se je pod vedno večjim pritiskom novembra 1276 moral odpovedati Avstriji, Štajerski, Koroški, Kranjski, Slovenski marki, Chebu in Pordenoneju (Hoensch, 1989, 84–88, 130–131, 200–209). Spor med obema knezoma se je nadaljeval, njuni vojski pa sta se avgusta 1278 odločilno spopadli pri Dürnkrutu, kakih 52 kilometrov severovzhodno od Dunaja. Otokar je izgubil tako bitko kot življenje. Decembra 1282 je kralj Rudolf svojima sinovoma Albrehtu in Rudolfu II. skupaj podelil Avstrijo in Štajersko (UBSt IV, št. 605; Niederstätter, 2001, 81–84; Bele, 2018b, 633).

Rudolfova smrt, leta 1291, je sprožila val sprememb. Albrehtovo nasledstvo na vladarskem prestolu ni bilo samoumevno. Številni državni knezi so v času Rudolfove vladavine mogli opaziti rast habsburške moči, ki se jim je zdaj morala zdeti nevarna. Albreht se je v tem času moral spopasti še z uporom štajerskega in koroškega plemstva, ki se je razplamtel na prelomu med letoma 1291 in 1292 (MDC VI, št. 207, 211–212, 249, 256–257, 259; Niederstätter, 2001, 101–102). Maja 1292 je bil v Frankfurtu za novega vladarja v cesarstvu izvoljen porenski grof Adolf Nassauski (MDC VI, št. 202, 205, 207; Niederstätter, 2001, 96–101; Rexroth, 2005, 90). Slednji je v letih, ki so sledila, hitro tonil v vedno večje težave, medtem ko se je Albreht okrepil. Slednjič je dosegel, da je bil Adolf junija 1298 odstavljen, namesto njega pa za kralja izvoljen Albreht sam. Julija 1298 je med tekmečema prišlo do bitke pri Göllheimu v bližini Wormsa, kjer je Adolf izgubil življenje. Albreht se je dal še isti mesec ponovno izvoliti (Hartmann, 2006, 379–380).

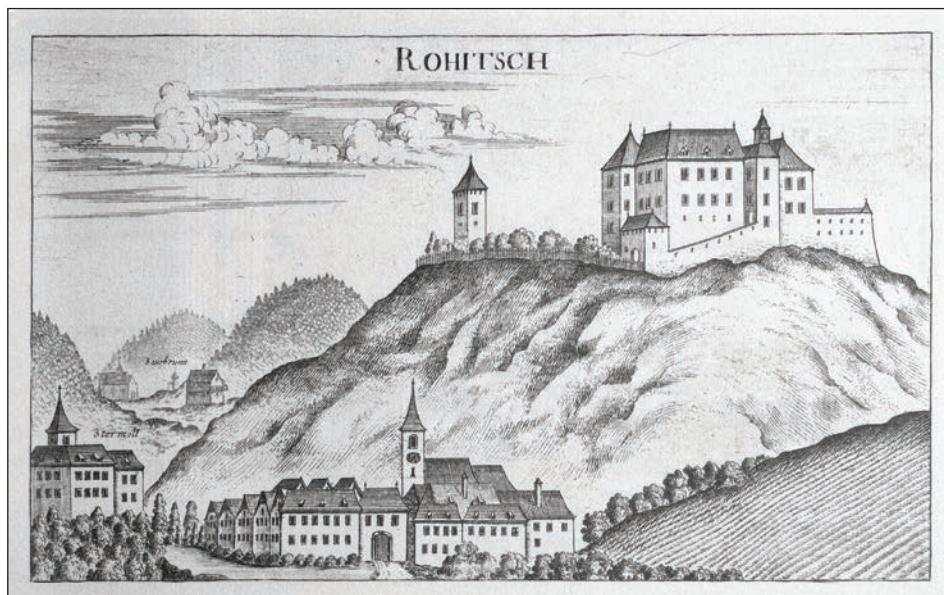
PRVE OMEMBE ROGAŠKEGA GOSPOSTVA IN ZAČETEK TAMKAJŠNJE RODBINE

Kot rečeno, je bilo rogaško gospodstvo del večjega kompleksa krških posesti na Kozjanskem. Rogatec je bil med posestvi, ki jih je kralj Lothar III. leta 1130 Krški škofiji potrdil (Gradivo IV, št. 99; MDC I, št. 58).² Vesti glede zgodovine Rogatca ob koncu 12. stoletja dobimo prav tako iz Deželne knjige Avstrije in Štajerske. Kot v svojem članku z naslovom »K predzgodovini Maribora« navaja Peter Štih je Deželna Knjiga nastala na Dunaju med letoma 1276 in 1281. Uporaba njenih podatkov, kakor pokaže Štih, zahteva veliko previdnost, saj Deželna knjiga prinaša celo vrsto netočnih informacij in ima kot samostojen zgodovinski vir majhno vrednost (Štih, 2006, 244–248). Glede na podatke iz deželne knjige, naj bi se Babenberžan Leopold V. po smrti Otokarja IV. branil od Krške škofije v fevd vzeti grad Rogatec z bržkone 600 hubami (Pirchegger, 1958, 238). V fevd bi ga naj nato vzeli Konjiški in tam osnovali svojo stransko vejo (Jansen Enikels Werke, MGH Deutsche Chroniken. 3, 708–709). Dodatnih virov, ki bi potrjevali ali zanikali točnost navedb v Deželni knjigi nimamo. Zaradi tega mora ostati točen potek dogodkov v zvezi s konjiško pridobitvijo Rogatca obdan s senco dvoma. Možno sicer je, da so se stvari odvile točno tako, kot nam poroča Deželna knjiga, a tega z dodatnimi viri ne moremo potrditi.

Pri gospodih konjiških, ki so si konec 12. stoletja torej priborili rogaško gospodstvo je šlo za štajerske oz. deželnoknežje ministeriale, ki so že sredi 12. očitno imeli veliko moč. Njihov grad je bil alodialen, posest prav tako, a listin, ki bi nam dale informacije od kod posest izvira, nimamo (Mlinarič, 1991, 33). Prvi nam znan Konjiški gospod je (štajerski ministerial) Leopold I., od katerega je Otokar III. dobil posestvo, na katerem je potem ustanovil žičko kartuzijo (UBSt I, št. 485). Do konca stoletja najdemo v virih imena treh mož, povezanih s Konjicami. Gre za Ortolfa (ok. 1175–1197), Otokarja (1181–1207) in Leopolda (II.) (1182–1207), ki so bili bratje (UBSt I, št. 569, 617, 620, 642, 663, 665, 693; Gradivo IV, št. 649, 758, 779, 788, 879, 883, 892; UBSt II, št. 11, 16, 20, 27). Glede na leta v katerih so bili aktivni smemo sklepati, da so bili iz generacije neposredno za Leopoldom I. in še najverjetneje njegovi sinovi. Zelo možno je tudi, da so imeli sestro neznanega imena (Kos, 2005, 275). Mlinarič v svoji knjigi o samostanu v Studenicah navaja, da je (leta 1192) Rogatec od Krške škofije v fevd prejel Ortolf (Mlinarič, 2005, 7). Isto trdi Koropec (Koropec, 1974, 74), čeprav je v Deželni knjigi govora na splošno o Konjiških (*die von Gonowitz*), ne pa konkretno o Ortolfu (Jansen Enikels Werke, MGH Deutsche Chroniken. 3, 709; Gradivo IV, št. 802).

Kakorkoli že, ob pregledu danes še ohranjenih virov dobimo občutek, da je bil Ortolf med tremi brati daleč najbolj politično aktiven in v resnici tisti, ki je Rogatec imel v rokah. Očitno pa ni bil prvorojenec, ki bi se lahko obdržal na matičnem gradu svoje rodbine. Stransko vejo je osnoval v Rogatcu, v okolici katerega je tedaj očitno

2 Dotična listina je sicer ponaredek iz časa med letoma 1172 in 1176, a je očitno napisana na podlagi neke pristne Lotharjeve listine.



Sl. 1: Rogatec v 17. stoletju (*Topographia Ducatus Stiriae*, 1681).

živilo precejšnje število bojevitih in „vrednih slovanskih mož“ (Gradivo V, št. 83).³ Glavno konjiško vejo rodbine je nadaljeval Leopold II., ki je živel še v začetku leta 1234 in bil tedaj (težko bolan) sprejet med samostanske brate v Žičah (UBSt II, št. 314). Leta 1207 prvič srečamo Albrehta iz Rogatca, pri katerem je šlo najbrž za Ortolfovega zeta iz Zbelovega. Albreht se je kot štajerski deželnoknežji ministerial tesno držal svojega vojvode (Leopolda VI.) in se brez izjeme vedno omenjal le v njegovem spremstvu (UBSt II, št. 87, 98; Gradivo V, št. 307; UBSt II, št. 211a, 239, 246). To dejstvo sicer nikakor ne preseneča – v spremstvu štajerskega vojvode so se omenjali tudi njegovi sorodniki Konjiški. S svojo neznano ženo je Albreht med drugim imel sina Henrika (I.), ki se je sredi 13. stoletja pogosto vpletal v štajersko politiko.

POLITIČNO DELOVANJE HENRIKA I.

Preden se podrobneje posvetimo samemu Henriku I. je treba na kratko omeniti še njegove sestre Zofijo, Rikardo in Gertrudo. Zofija je pred letom 1237 v Studenicah pod Bočem (ocitno z izdatno Rikardino pomočjo) ustanovila hospital, okrog leta 1245 pa ženski samostan. To ustanovo je leta 1251 potrdil oglejski patriarch Ber-

3 „Und dô ich für den Rôhas / durch âventiure gestrichen was, / dâ kom ein werdiu windisch diet ûz durch tjoste gegenbiet.“

told in jo v duhovnem pogledu podredil ptujskim dominikancem (Mlinarič, 2005, 19–27). O zgodovini studeniškega samostana je v preteklosti že izčrpano pisal Jože Mlinarič, zato se ji v tem besedilu ne bomo posebej posvečali. Omenimo le Zofijinega moža Riherja Podjunskega, ki naj bi bil, po Mlinaričevi navedbi, leta 1237 že mrtev – podatek je Mlinarič očitno dobil od Pircheggerja (Pirchegger, 1958, 242 ter genealoška preglednica „Gonobitzer“ ob koncu knjige, brez številčne oznake). Iz ohranjenih virov je sicer jasno, da je bila Zofija vdova maja 1263 (MDC II, št. 647; UBSt IV, št. 99),⁴ glede časa pred tem letom pa ni nobenega podatka o njenem vdovstvu, Riherjevi smrti oz. o Riherju nasploh. Leta 1237 se je Zofija omenjala kot ustanoviteljica hospitala, o Riherju pa ne najdem nobene besede. Glede na njen dejavnost (oz. moževu odsotnost) lahko sicer domnevamo, da je bil Riher tudi leta 1237 v resnici že pokojni, medtem ko je Zofija delala za njegov dušni dobrobit (UBSt II, št. 363; Gradivo V, št. 683). Natančnejših podatkov glede Riherja se iz virov ne da izvleči.

Henrik I. (1234–1267) v drugi polovici 13. stoletja poleg krškega Rogatca posestoval še štajerski deželnoknežji Štatenberg, deželnoknežje Zbelovo ter za kratek čas očitno celo krški Podčetrtek (1279 in morda malo pred tem). Tako je nastal obsežen posestni sklop (Kosi, 2008, 536). Henrik I. (Gradivo V, št. 622, 857, 888; Gradivo VI, št. 28, 61, 83, 98, 253; UBSt III, št. 193, 207; UBSt IV, št. 4, 42, 44, 99, 148–149, 180–181, 243) se je skupaj s svojim sinom v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih udeležil petih štajerskih deželnih zborov. Henrik II. (1263–† 1299/1300) se je na enem izmed njih celo pravdal s šentpavelskim samostanom (UBSt IV, št. 99, 180–181, 352; MDC V, št. 368–370; Kos, 2005, 151, 156, 365, 379, 404). Dotični deželni zbor je potekal avgusta 1269 v Gradcu, vodil pa ga je štajerski deželni glavar in olomuški škof Bruno Schauenburški. Slednji je razsodil v prid Šentpavla oz. zavrnil Henrikove zahteve po sodnih pravicah na šentpavelskih posestih pri Lovrencu na Pohorju. Šentpavelski opat Gerhard je namreč uspel predložiti starejšo listino nekdanje vojvode Leopolda VI., ki je dokazovala njegov prav (MDC IV/1, št. 1834; UBSt IV, št. 352; MDC IV/2, št. 3009). Kot kaže je šlo v primeru navedene sodbe iz leta 1269 za epilog precej daljšega spora, ki se je vlekel že vsaj od leta 1248 (Gradivo VI, št. 61) in ga je začel že Henrik I.

Kljub dejству, da je Henrik I. svoj matični grad imel od Krške škofije, se je očitno bolj malo zanimal za krške zadeve. Glede na ohranjene vire lahko domnevamo, da sta ga škofa Ulrik in Ditrik II. skušala (s pomočjo rogaškega fevda) vsaj malo držati pod kontrolo, medtem ko se je sam (kot štajerski ministerial) brez večjih težav ubranil njunih poskusov. Kolikor je le bilo mogoče, se je vpletal v štajersko politiko. Bil v dobrih odnosih s štajerskim vodstvom tako v času ogrske kot češke vlade in to, kakor se zdi, brez kakršnega koli krškega posredovanja oz. dovoljenja. To mu ni bilo potrebno (UBSt III, št. 151, 156; UBSt IV, št. 42, 180–181).

Čeprav je Krška škofija v začetku petdesetih let na vsa usta poudarjala, da je Rogatec eden njenih glavnih fevdov (UBSt VI, št. 130, 141, 144), to na Henrika v

⁴ „[...] quod ego Sophia humilis vidua Iesu Christi post mortem quondam dilecti mariti mei Richeri de Iunek [...]“.

praksi najbrž ni imelo vpliva. Še v začetku petdesetih let je raje ropsal (vetrinjske) posesti (Gradivo VI, št. 198). V šestdesetih letih pa je Henriku I. očitno začelo zmanjkovalo velike življenske energije. Zdi se, da se je začel vse bolj umirjati in svoj čas posvečati studeniškemu samostanu (UBSt IV, št. 4, 44, 99). Medtem je politično krmilo njegove rodbine prevzel edini (preživelci) sin, ki pa očetovih uspehov ni zmogel nadaljevati.

ZADNJI MOŠKI PRIPADNIK RODBINE IN NJEGOVI DEDIČI

Kot kaže, se Henrik II. po koncu šestdesetih let (ko je umrl njegov oče) ni več politično izpostavljal. Tudi on se je očitno trudil skrbeti za studeniški samostan, med najbolj politično aktivnimi plemiči sedemdesetih, osemdesetih in devetdesetih let pa ga nikjer ne najdemo. Po drugi strani nam ohranjeni viri namigujejo na to, da je sive lase več časa povzročal krškemu škofu Ditriku II. ter škofiji očitno napravil veliko škode (MDC V, št. 368). Sedemdeseta leta 13. stoletja, ko se je to dogajalo, so bila čas politične nestabilnosti, kar je bila pač voda na Henrikov mlin (MDC V, št. 368–370; Kos, 2003, 215–216; Obersteiner, 1969, 97–110). V osemdesetih se je situacija spet umirila, Henrik je sprejel nove habsburške gospodarje in njihovim veznikom krških škofom (med njimi predvsem Janezu) najbrž ni več delal prevelikih težav (Obersteiner, 1969, 111–117, 120–136).

Na splošno lahko sklepamo, da Henrik II. (predvsem po odmevnem sodnem porazu proti Šentpavlu iz leta 1269) ni imel moči ali priložnosti napraviti uspešne politične kariere, morda pa si zanjo sploh ni več prizadeval. Tudi o njegovem družinskem življenu nimamo podatkov. Imena kake njegove žene ne poznamo, kakršnakoli pa je njegova situacija že bila, je v začetku osemdesetih let očitno postalo jasno, da bo ostal brez (preživelih) otrok. Verjetno se je s tem v zvezi še bolj vneto začel truditi za svoj dušni blagor. Glede na to bo bralca morda spomnil na Sigfrida Marenberškega († 1271/1272), ki se je, prav tako zadnji svojega rodu, s podobnimi družinskimi in duhovnimi temami ukvarjal kaka tri desetletja prej. Studeniškemu samostanu je Henrik II. skozi čas tako potrdil vrsto privilegijev oz. se (skupaj s svojo teto Zofijo) na splošno trudil delovati v njegovo korist (UBSt IV, št. 407; GZM II, št 41; Mlinarič, 2005, 25–27; Koropec, 1974, 74).

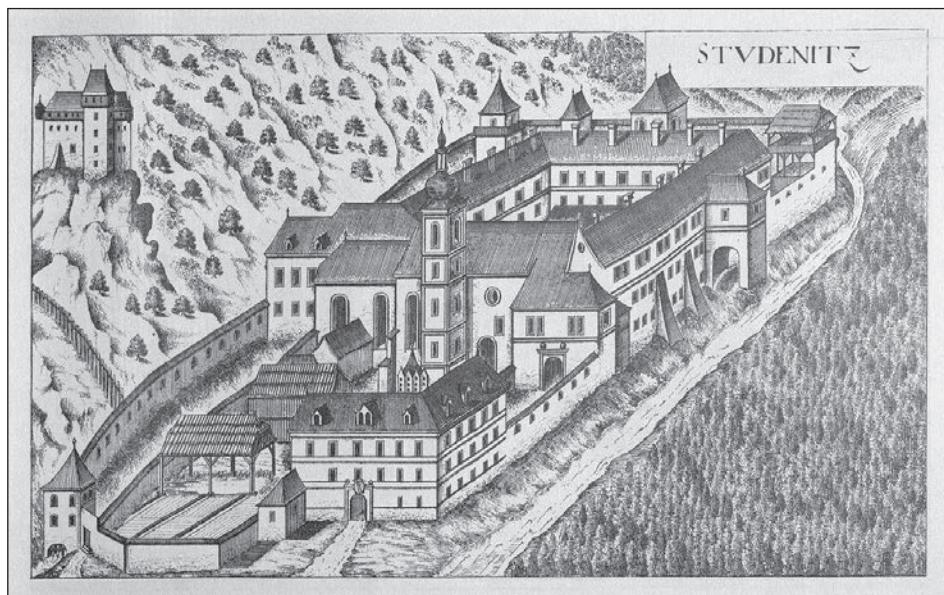
Po drugi strani se je Henrik II. še vedno moral brigati za čisto posvetne zadeve oz. poskrbeti za družinske posesti. To nam dokazuje na Dunaju izdana listina iz srede julija 1283. Z njo je je Henrik (nedvomno že v letih) predal svoje fevde novopečenemu avstrijsko-štajerskem vojvodi Albrehtu I. Habsburšekmu, z namenom, da bi jih ta predal sorodniku Otonu Liechtensteinskemu in njegovim sinovom. Vojvoda Albreht je listino sicer tudi pečatil (Regesta Habsburgica, št. 109, 25–26; Pirchegger, 1958, 237, 246). Na tem mestu bralca v oči zbode podatek, da so Oton Liechtensteinski in njegovi sinovi omenjeni kot Henrikovi sorodniki. Ob pregledu priloženega družinskega drevesa Konjiško-Rogaških članov rodbine Liechtensteinskih namreč ne najdemo. Na tem mestu domnevamo, da je neko sorodstveno razmerje med rodbinama vsekakor moralno obstajati. Razlog za to ni le dejstvo, da so Liechtensteinski v



Sl. 2: Pečat Otokarja II. Přemysla iz leta 1273 (Wikimedia Commons).

listini omenjeni kot sorodniki temveč tudi to, da so bili že leta 1283 razumljeni kot dediči rogaškega gospostva.

Pri omenjenem rogaškem dediču Otonu je *šlo* natančneje za gospoda Otona II. (1252–1311) Liechtensteinskega, tako imenovanega po gradu Liechtenstein v zgornjem toku reke Mure pri Judenburgu, na današnjem avstrijskem Štajerskem. Oton II. je danes znan predvsem kot sin generacijo starejšega pesnika Ulrika. Slednji, v virih je izpričan med letoma 1227 in 1274 je bil precej politično in vojaško aktiven in je spadal med najvplivnejše štajerske plemiče svojega časa (http://www.geschichtsquellen.de/repPers_118625306.html; Dopsch, 1977, 111; Müller & Spechtler, 2003, 1199–1200). Sam gospod Oton II. je bil tesno povezan še s pesnikom



Sl. 3: Studeniški samostan v 17. stoletju (*Topographia Ducatus Stiriae*, 1681).

Otokarjem iz Geule (na dvoru katerega se je slednji morda tudi izobrazil). Oton II. je bil v času, ko je bila dotična listina izdana, celo štajerski deželni sodnik, skozi leta pa je opravljjal tudi druge štajerske deželne in dvorne funkcije (CKL, št. 66; Bele, 2018a, 80, 82, 84, 87, 92). Pri njegovih v listini omenjenih sinovih, je šlo najbrž za Otona III. (1340), Ulrika III. († pred 1309) oz. Rudolfa I. († 1343) (CKL, št. 67; Dopsch, 1977, 113).

Na vprašanje glede sorodstvene vezi omenjenih Liechtesteinskih z Rogaškimi je težko odgovoriti. Nihče od zgoraj že naštetih raziskovalcev nanj ne ponudi odgovora (Koropec, 1974, 74; Pirchegger, 1958, 246; Kos, 2005, 365; Orožen, 1889, 186–189). Odlična raziskava z naslovom *Der Dichter Ulrich von Liechtenstein und die Herkunft seiner Familie* izpod peresa Heinza Dopscha nam očitnih povezav prav tako ne ponuja (Dopsch, 1977, 93–118). Na podlagi s strani Dopscha zbranih podatkov lahko zaključimo, da med Liechtesteinskimi in Rogaškimi ni bilo nikakršne sorodstvene povezave (tudi v nekaj kolenih) vsaj tri generacije pred Henrikom (II. Rogaškim) in Otonom (II. Liechtensteinskim). Prav tako povezave ni videti tudi v generaciji za njima, v njunih rodbinah pa nenazadnje tudi ni podobnih imen (Dopsch, 1977, 102, 113; Kos, 2005, 299; Mlinarič, 2005, 7–27). Če je povezava torej sploh obstajala, je odgovor nanjo morda treba iskati v morebitni Henrikovi soprogi (morda liechtensteinskega izvora). Naj na tem mestu ponovno poudarimo, da se nam podatki o kaki Henrikovi soprogi niso ohranili. Koropec tako na primer domneva, da Henrik II. ni bil nikoli poročen, kar je seveda



Sl. 4: Upodobitev bitke pri Dürnkrutu iz leta 1835, avtor Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld ([wikipedia.org](https://en.wikipedia.org)).

čisto možno (Koropec, 1974, 74). Iz vseh teh razlogov mora njegovo sorodstveno razmerje z Liechtensteinskimi ostati odprtovno vprašanje, saj natančnejših podatkov enostavno nimamo.

Ob vsem povedanem je nazadnje potrebno upoštevati še dejstvo, da vsi srednjeveški nazivi glede sorodstvenih vezi niso bili tako nedvoumni kot danes. Med sorodnike se je prištevalo tudi ljudi, ki so bili z neko rodbino v tako daljni povezavi, da jih danes niti približno ne bi šteli med rodbinske člane. Tu je vlogo igral predvsem ugled in družbeni status »sorodnikov«. Kar se tiče izrazoslovja se v srednjem veku predvsem za bolj pavšalnimi izrazi skrivajo najrazličnejše stopnje sorodstva, od zelo bližnjega do zelo daljnega. Te ugotovitve veljajo tudi za tiste osebe, ki so bili sorodniki zgolj po nazivu in jih ne vežejo krvne vezi. Takšne osebe so v večini primerov zelo ugledne osebnosti svojega časa (in to je Oton II. Liechtesteinski v drugi polovici 13. stoletja vsekakor bil), ki morda z izstaviteljem listine niso v no-

beni direktni sorodstveni povezavi. Je pa zato že njihova omemba v listini, skupaj s še tako daljno in posredno družinsko povezavo izstavitelju oziroma listini povečala težo in ugled v takratni družbi (Preinfalk, 2001, 343, 363).⁵

USODA ROGAŠKIH POSESTI PO SMRTI HENRIKA II.

Henrik II. Rogaški je svoj konec dočakal nekje na prelomu med letoma 1299 in 1300. Oton II. Liechtensteinski je po njem dobil Rogatec, a ga je zatem že avgusta 1301 prodal Ulriku II. Žovneškemu za 700 srebrnih mark. Slednji je nato v začetku leta 1304 izdal potrdilno listino za krškega škofa Henrika III. Helfenberškega (daljnega sorodnika gospodov Rogaških), da je Rogatec z vsem pripadajočim prejel v fevd (CKL, št. 66–67, 72). Žovneški so Rogatec zatem naselili z menjajočimi se oskrbniki in gradiščani. Medtem so stare rogaške viteze, ki so se kasneje občasno imenovali po Rogatcu, Lembergu pri Poljčanah, Žovnemu in Rifniku, očitno preselili drugam. Prav tako so tam modernizirali grajsko upravo (Orožen, 1889, 189; Pirchegger, 1958, 57; Kos, 2005, 260, 365; Koropec, 1974, 76).

Kar se tiče Štatenberga in Zbelovega ju je doletela drugačna usoda. Štatenberg je po letu 1299 v celoti pripadel sorodnikom Viltuškim. Ti so ga zatem držali v svojih rokah vse do leta 1385, ko ga je podedoval Haug z Devina. 14 let kasneje so ga priženili gospodje Walseejski, ki so bili švabskega izvora in so v vzhodnoalpski prostor prišli šele v spremstvu Habsburžanov (Pirchegger, 1962, 136; Naschenweng, 2002, 48–57). Zbelovo, v drugi polovici 13. stoletja dom zvestih rogaških vitezov, so zatem dobili Liechtensteinski. Slednji so Zbelovo izvzeli iz sklopa celotne zapuščine Rogaških, ki so jo leta 1312 prodali Viltuškim.⁶ Medtem, ko se je rod zbelovskih vitezov že v prvi polovici 14. stoletja preselil v Celje, je samo Zbelovo ostalo v liechtensteinskih rokah vse do leta 1435 (Pirchegger, 1962, 150; Kos, 2005, 406).

ZAKLJUČEK

Pripadniki rodbine Rogaških so živelni in delovali v turbolentnih časih 13. stoletja, ko v Vzhodnih Alpah često ni bilo jasnega in splošno priznanega gospodarja, pretendenti za oblast pa so se med seboj neusmiljeno spopadali. Proces prehajanja Avstrije in Štajerske iz rok v roke različnih rodbin se je končal šele leta 1278. To je bil tudi trenutek, ko so še zadnji posamezniki na tleh današnje slovenske Štajerske nehali stopati na strani različnih tekmecev, saj so Habsburžani tedaj uspeli pridobiti zase skoraj vso Babenberško dediščino (MDC V, št. 356–357; Kusternig, 1978/79, 276–300; Darovec, 2016, 27; Štih, 2006, 244). Sodobni seveda tudi tedaj še niso

5 Za pomoč pri razvozljavanju problema možnih rodbinskih povezav med Rogaškimi in Liechtensteinskimi se lepo zahvaljujem dr. Tonetu Ravnikarju.

6 Pri nekdanjih rogaških vitezih je šlo za štiri brate, namreč Ortolfa (1245–1263), Henrika (1245, † po 1297), Gotšalka (1245, † po 1297) in Rudolfa (1262–1296) (Kos, 2005, 404–405).

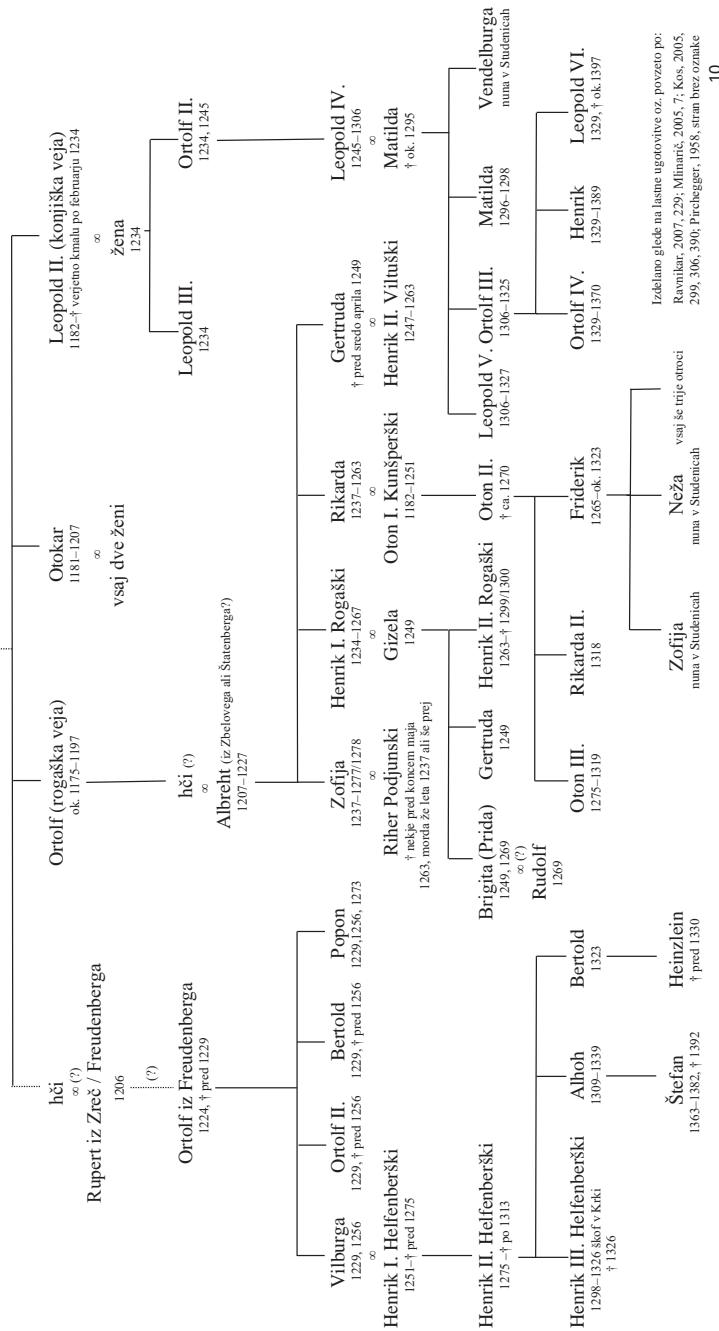
mogli vedeti, da se tudi Habsburžani ne bodo slednjič umaknili iz političnega prizorišča, treba se je bilo pač prilagoditi trenutni situaciji.

Najpomembnejša pripadnika rogaške rodbine – Henrik I. in Henrik II. – sta se v grobem obnašala čisto tako, kot njuni stanovski sovrstniki. Kot gospodje Mariborski, Svbenski ali Ptujski sta se namreč pojavljala v spremstvih štajerskih vovod, se pravdala na štajerskih deželnih zborih ter se ob primernih trenutkih skušala okoristiti s posestmi cerkvenih institucij (UBSt IV, št. 352; MDC IV/2, št. 3009; MDC V, št. 368–369; podrobneje o cerkvenoupravnih sliki Štajerske v 13. in 14. stoletju: Mlinarič, 2016, 37–47). Vsemu naprezanju navkljub pa njune poteze na štajerski politični šahovnici le niso obrodile dovolj dobrih rezultatov. Tako je Henrik II. Rogaški slednjič postal še najbolj podoben gospodom Marenberškim in se zadnja leta svojega življenja ukvarjal z duhovnimi temami. Kot kaže je zelo vneto skrbel za samostan v Studenicah, ki ga je ustanovila njegova teta (UBSt IV, št. 407; GZM II, št. 41; Mlinarič, 2005, 25–27).

Kljub ugodnemu položaju, članstvu v štajerski deželni zvezi ter najbrž tudi znatni vojaški moči pa je rodbina slednjič ostala brez moških potomcev. Doletela jih je torej usoda premnogih takratnih rodbin, ki izgrajevanja svoje oblasti zaradi izumrtja po moški liniji nikoli niso zmogle uspešno nadaljevati (Koropec, 1974, 76). Njihove posesti so torej prevzele razne druge rodbine in posamezniki, ki so večno borbo za oblast nadaljevali v generacijah po smrti Rogaških. Medtem, ko so njihova imena že zdavnaj izginila iz spomina ljudi med Sotlo in Donačko goro, pa studeniški samostan pod Bočem nanje spominja še danes.

GENEALOŠKA PREGLEDNICA RODBINE KONJIŠKO-ROGAŠKIH

Leopold I.
izprizan za čas pred letom 1165



THE KONJIŠKO-ROGAŠKI FAMILY

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SUMMARY

At the end of the 12th century, the ducal authority in Styria was taken over by the Austrian dynasty of Babenberg. After that, the dynasty ruled both duchies until 1246. After its extinction, several central European dynasts started fighting over its estates. This lasted until 1278. Afterwards, the Habsburgs managed to keep the power in both duchies.

According to the available sources, we can pinpoint the beginning to the noble family of Konjice-Rogatec to the end of the 12th century. Although the family had its seat at Rogatec (a Gurkian fief), its members did not pay much attention to the orders of the bishops of Gurk. Since they were of Styrian ministerial origin, they were able to (more or less) ignore the bishops.

We must highlight Henry I and his son Henry II as the two most important members of the family. They were active in the middle and the second half of the 13th century. As typical members of their age and class, they did not hesitate to use brute force to achieve their goals. At the beginning of the 1280s, Henry II must have realized he was going to die without male descendants. He spent more and more time taking care of the monastery at Studenice (founded by his aunt), leaving his fiefs to the family of Liechtenstein. He died in 1299/1300.

Keywords: the family of Rogatec, today's Slovenian Styria, 12th and 13th centuries, ministeriales, Ottokar II of Bohemia, House of Habsburg, Studenice

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CULTURAL DIVERSITY VS. NATIONAL-SOCIALIST POSITIONS.
 PAULA VON PRERADOVIĆ: AN ISTRIAN AND THE AUTHOR OF
 THE AUSTRIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

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ABSTRACT

*Paula von Preradović (1887–1951) constantly remained bound to Istria, and it is not only her first poems that deal with her homeland, which she did not really leave until she was 26. To the end, she dedicated herself in her works to Croatian topics. The article offers a detailed look at this fascinating author's relations to the fascist systems in Austria, relations which become all the more weighty when we consider that Preradović would go on to compose the Austrian national anthem, which is still in use today. Like other intellectuals—for example Karl Kraus, Franz Werfel, and Joseph Roth—she was close to the ideas of the authoritarian state of "Austrofascism." However, in contrast to many others, this closeness is not only due to a common opposition to National Socialism. In many respects, she was close to its ideology, and this proximity is, for instance, reflected in her poetry collection *Lob Gottes im Gebirge* (1936). On the other hand, Preradović criticized National Socialism in her novel *Pave and Pero* (1940), albeit very discreetly, by presenting a multicultural society, praising unifying factors, and showing herself to be critical of nationalism. On the basis of the novel, we can see, too, that it was possible in the German Reich also to publish literature that did not conform to the reigning ideology.*

Keywords: literary Istria, Austrian national anthem, Austrofascism, national socialism, Petar Preradović, Paula von Preradović

DIVERSITÀ CULTURALE CONTRO POSIZIONI NAZISTE. PAULA VON
 PRERADOVIĆ: UN'ISTRIANA AUTRICE DELL'INNO NAZIONALE
 AUSTRIACO

SINTESI

Paula von Preradović (1887–1951) rimase costantemente legata all'Istria, e non sono solo le sue prime poesie a trattare della sua terra natale, che lasciò realmente solo a 26 anni. Alla fine della sua vita si dedicò nelle sue opere a temi relativi alla Croazia. L'articolo offre uno sguardo dettagliato sul rapporto di questa affasci-

*nante autrice con l'Austrofascismo, rapporto che diventa ancora più importante se si considera che Preradović compose l'inno nazionale austriaco che è ancora oggi in uso. Come altri intellettuali – ad esempio Karl Kraus, Franz Werfel e Joseph Roth – era vicina alle idee di uno stato autoritario „austrofascista“. Tuttavia, al contrario di molti altri, questa vicinanza non era dovuta solo a un'opposizione al nazismo. Per molti aspetti, era vicina alla sua ideologia e questa vicinanza si riflette, ad esempio, nella sua raccolta di poesie *Lob Gottes im Gebirge* (1936). D'altra parte, Preradović ha criticato il nazismo nel suo romanzo *Pave and Pero* (1940), anche se in modo molto discreto, presentando una società multiculturale, lodando i fattori unificanti di questa società e dimostrandosi critica nei confronti del nazismo. Sulla base del romanzo, possiamo anche vedere che nel Terzo Reich era possibile pubblicare anche opere non conformi all'ideologia nazista.*

Parole chiave: Istria letteraria, inno nazionale austriaco, Austrofascismo, Nazismo, Petar Preradović, Paula von Preradović

INTRODUCTION¹

Paula von Preradović is still remembered as the author of the national anthem of the Second Austrian Republic – after all, she wrote a text that remains central for Austria's national consciousness. It is all the more remarkable that the poet's work and life are now nearly forgotten. In addition, work and life alike have been extremely influenced by her family: A few years after Paula's death, *Portrait einer Dichterin* (Portrait of a Poet, 1955), written by her husband Ernst Molden (1886–1953), the well-known re-founder and editor-in-chief of the influential newspaper *Die Presse*, was published. The perspectives presented by him have continued to determine and steer the scholarly literature today. In 1967, her *Gesammelte Werke* (Collected Works) were published by the publishing house of the son, the powerful media czar Fritz Molden (1924–2014), namely, by the chief editor Kurt Egl, who provided forewords and afterwords. Of course, a directing of perception took place – one which has unfortunately been repeated in subsequent academic papers, especially those on political issues pertaining to Preradović. That is why the perception of the author requires supplementary examination and new perspectives in order to

¹ This article was written at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, in the framework of the research project "Mountaineering Literature: Slovenia and Beyond" (J6-1808) and the research program "Intercultural Literary Studies" (P6-0265), both of which are funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.

recall the unknown sides of her multi-layered biography and her ambivalent work, in which the turbulent first half of the blood-soaked twentieth century is reflected in a special way.

THE ISTRIAN PAULA VON PRERADOVIĆ

Paula von Preradović is not the only one who carries this surname in literary history. In particular, her grandfather Petar Preradović (1818–1872) remains of great importance for Croatian history. Indeed, the centrally located monument dating back to 1895 on the Zagreb square that bears his name also bears witness to his cultural importance. Petar is only partially suitable for a Croatian national narrative, as he was a supporter of the Illyrian idea and longed to see the South Slavic languages united within the Habsburg Monarchy. In any case, the granddaughter Paula often refers to her famous ancestor. In addition to her central work, in her only novel – *Pave und Pero* (1940) (about Petar's first marriage) – she devotes poems to him, which is of great importance for her artistic self-staging. Also crucial is that she translated his poems into German, though she only ever published a few of these. But in Paula's literary work the references to Croatia are more diverse; the landscapes, the ancestors, the history and culture of the country always inspired the poet. The author grew up in Pula, where her father was stationed as a naval officer of the Habsburg Monarchy. At the age of fourteen she left Istria to attend the middle school for girls run by the women's "Congregation Jesu", the "Institute of the English Maidens" in St. Pölten. After several years with her family in Pula she went to Munich in 1913 to do a nursing course run by the Red Cross. During the First World War, she and her family went to Vienna, to the hometown of her mother and aunts. Preradović was working in the war hospital, which was housed in the University of Vienna, and it is there that she met her future husband, the history teacher Ernst Molden. This meeting and the unstable and violent situation in her Istrian homeland (cf. Klabjan, 2018) meant that she was never to return to Istria. Paula von Preradović established herself as a writer, for which she had many pioneering women examples, especially in the Viennese environment (cf., for instance, Miladinović Zalaznik, 2018). Her work evinces a strong interest in Croatian regions, especially Istria. Today, one would appreciate these texts as intercultural literature or as migration literature. From the perspective of a life in the north, she writes about homesickness, culture shock and yearning – especially in her first volumes of poetry. In *Südlicher Sommer* (Southern Summer, 1929), she sings in a folk-song-like manner about coastal landscapes. In *Dalmatinische Sonette* (Dalmatian Sonnets, 1933), she includes several Croatian towns, among them, Trogir and Dubrovnik, and monuments, e.g., by Ivan Meštrović (1883–1962). The volume *Ritter, Tod und Teufel* (Knight, Death and the Devil, 1946), published directly after the Second World War, includes a large number of South Slavic ballads. Paula edited several South Slavic legends and stories, and she used such Croatian terms as "Vila," "Guslar," "Sabor" and "Junak" in her texts – while allowing no



Fig. 1: Paula von Preradović, portrait (<https://alchetron.com/Paula-von-Preradovi%C4%87#->).

German cultural dominance. For example, in her Christian novella *Königslegende* (King's Legend, 1950) – where she describes the alleged exile of the Croatian king Slavatz, who was defeated in his fight against the introduction of the Latin liturgy – the Croatian king laughs at the ordnance and equipment of the Normans, and their singing seems to him uglier “than the howling of wolves and jackals” (Preradović, 1950, 11). The tale is even followed by a glossary explaining some Croatian expressions and how to pronounce the letters. Thus, Franz Theodor Csokor (1885–1969) spoke of Preradović as a “poetess between two peoples” (Csokor, 1957, 15), while her husband Ernst Molden spoke of the “poetess of both homelands” (Molden, 1955, 14). Her friend, author Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (1871–1955), had already welcomed her first work, *Südlicher Sommer*, for providing “sweet foreign sounds of the

songs of the South Slavic” (Preradović, 1929, blurb). This benevolent perspective has been passed down in the secondary literature to this day, so it is not surprising that the questions on the influence of Croatian and South Slavic culture on Paula von Preradović are central in this scholarly literature (Kostić, 1957; Orlandić, 1979). Even when Preradović’s works were rightly described as conventional, even epigonal, her first two books led to her being deemed a pioneer in using the subject and theme of the Adriatic region in German poetry. In these works, she sings emotionally of the sea, fishermen, shepherds and lighthouses, islands, tides and surf, dolphins, the salty winds, sun, stars, pebbles, shells, seagulls, olive trees, pines, and myrtle. In her poem “*Die Weihnachtsbucht*” (Christmas Bay), she reflects on her own biculturality and on the hours before the Viennese-style celebration spent with her father in the Mediterranean bay – without snow, but between hills full of juniper and thyme:

Oh, blessed we who could cherish / in the awakened blood t w o fatherlands, / Hold in our hand t w o world balls, / Love the sweet bay of the south, / Framed by laurel and arbutus, / Like the harsh world of the Christmas tree.² (Preradović, 1963, 36).

2 “Oh, gesegnet wir, die hegen durften / Im erwachten Blut z w e i Vaterländer, / Halten in der Hand z w e i Weltenkugeln, / Lieben so die süße Bucht des Südens, / Eingerahmt von Lorbeer und Arbutus, / Wie die herbe Welt des Tannenbaums” (Preradović, 1936, 36).

Concerning Preradović, one can only speak of a bicultural world in a limited way. The Istrian landscape remains – as shown in the poem – a backdrop to a German-speaking, Austrian world of life and literature, in which the cult of the Croatian ancestors was cultivated. Her lyrical homesickness for Istria and the Adriatic remains stuck in the landscape and the climate. Nor did she deeply penetrate the Croatian or the Italian language and culture. After all, it was not only as a child that she lived in Pula; she also spent the formative years after the school leaving exam (between the ages of 19 and 26) there, not engaging in any professional activity. These eight years of relative leisure would have given an intelligent young woman ample time and opportunity to learn the local languages (Lughofe, 2019). In many letters to her friend and patron, the philologist, author and translator Camilla Lucerna (1868–1965), she laments her lack of knowledge of Croatian, which is probably not due to exaggerated perfectionism or any great modesty. Indeed, in contrast to Lucerna, she never really learned the Croatian language. Moreover, for the translations of the poems of her grandfather it was others who provided the raw translations. The lack of language skills remained an obstacle for Preradović even into her 40s, when she was doing the research for *Pave and Pero*. In a letter to Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti dated 29.05.1931, she muses on “The enormity of the fact that I do not understand Croatian has only now become so clear to me...” (Vospernik, 1966, 11). She might have never deeply penetrated into the language, but Istria remained a key subject of her work until the end of her life. From her literary estate, fragments of her childhood in Pula were published; these were drawn from the autobiographical novel project with the beautiful title “*Pelagia auf dem berstenden Stern*” (*Pelagia on the Bursting Star*) in the *Collected Works* (1967).

THE SUPPOSED HABSBURG NOSTALGIC

Politics in the work of Paula von Preradović were perceived only as nostalgia for the Habsburg Empire. Schoolfield (1954, 286) speaks of “Preradovic’s enthusiasm for the Empire” in his early contribution to *German Life and Letters*. Maertens (1956, 5), meanwhile, describes Preradović as a new-romantic author full of mourning for the old Austria and of longing for the past. Kostić (1957, 7) also speaks of an idealization of the imperial past. Vospernik (1960, 95) perceives the representation of the Habsburg Empire as being that of “an ideal view”. Trojanović (1977, 176) reads a political program into the author’s merging of both landscapes in poetry volumes – namely, the attempt to leave territories of Istria and Dalmatia “for all eternity in Austria’s spiritual possession.” The completely apolitical form of the texts could accomplish this even more convincingly. Sobczak (2016, 98) comments in a more relaxed manner: “In her novel Preradović lovingly painted an idealized picture of old Austria, together with its cultural diversity, intended to put the reader back into a better, supposedly perfect world”. Lughofe (2018b) has already been able to show that a strongly nostalgic reading is not a fitting approach – in the much-cited novel *Pave und Pero*, for example, it is by no means an idyll but a problematic, late feudal society that is full of child mortality and soldiers’ suffering.



Fig. 2: Single stamp issued to honor Paula von Preradović (<https://www.hipstamp.com/listing/austria-1996-7s-europa-issue-paula-von-preradovic-author-vf-nh/15722435>).

PROXIMITY TO AUSTROFASCISM

Even the critical literary scholar Trojanović does not say a word about the author's relationship to Austrofascism, the authoritarian system prevailing between 1933 and 1938 in Austria. Traditionally, there has been a Grand Coalition consensus on historiography in Austria, with left and right generally in agreement; but in the case of Austrofascism perspective differ. While large parts of the historical and political sciences fully recognize this term because of the origins and interventions in the economy and society of the former regime (Talos, 2017, 170–172), in conservative circles one still speaks of the "Ständestaat" and refuses the term "fascism" for this regime (Sandgruber, 2003, 70). Engelbert Dollfuss himself is seen by one side as a dictator, murderer of workers, and pioneer of Austrian's destruction, while the other side regards him as an opponent and victim of National Socialism and inventor of social partnership. In 2014, a small explanatory text was placed next to his portrait, but it remained hanging the Österreichische Volkspartei clubroom (ÖVP, Austrian People's Party) in the Parliament until 2017. Then the renovations of the Parliament provided the possibility of transferring the controversial portrait to the Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum (Lower Austrian State Museum) as a permanent loan. To this day, a deep-seated mistrust between Austrian Social Democrats and Conservatives is tied to the rift between the two over Austrofascism (Goldmann, 2019). The male members of the Molden family were clearly affiliated to such fascism. Firstly,

Ernst Molden was on the board of the Österreich-Deutscher *Volksbund* (Austrian-German People's Alliance), an organization that was founded in 1925, across party lines, to promote the connection of Austria to Germany. But under the impression of the rise of the Nazis, Molden refrained from thoughts of "Anschluss" and instead joined the Austrofascist state party *Vaterländische Front* (Fatherland Front) and supported Dollfuss in his defence against the Nazis.

Preradović herself was close to the political positions of her husband. And it is not only the opposition to the Nazis that brings her into the spiritual proximity of the Austrofascist regime. Her deep religiosity and her rejection of socialism supported this attitude, which is clearly shown in her texts of this time. Her poetry volume *Lob Gottes im Gebirge* (Praise of God in the Mountains, 1936), published by the Catholic publishing house Anton Pustet in Salzburg, is highly compatible with the regime of the time – even graphically: in contrast to the earlier volumes, which appeared in an Arial-like font, one reads there ancient "Gothic" letters. Created between 1934 and 1936 in Kühtai in Tyrol, "these powerful poems, which came out of the experience of the landscape, bear witness to the force and beauty of the Austrian Alps" (Röttinger, 1961, 16) and thus celebrate God. This position underlines the distance to Nazi Germany in several respects. Among other things, there is a "Gebet der Österreicher zum heiligen Leopold" (Prayer of the Austrians to the Holy Leopold), a typical, even programmatic Austrofascist text. The addressed Leopold III (1073–1136) from the House of Babenberger was canonised in 1485 by the Roman Catholic Church, and this canonisation was very much in the interest of the Habsburgs. As a result, he became patron saint of Austria and several Austrian federal states. So he is positioned as a German, anti-Nazi figure – the German nationalists in Austria were against the Monarchy and the Church. He is also clearly defined in the prayer as "our homeland's past ruler and son". The adoring lyrical *We* defines itself in this way:

*We people at the cusp from north to south, / We Germans from the eastern edge,
/ Since ever tempted by seductive love, / Since ever drenched with persecuting
hostility, / Enthusiastic, surrounded and misjudged.³* (Preradović, 1936, 85).

Just as Austrofascism positioned the Austrians as "better Germans" (Sandgruber, 2003, 72), Austrians are taken here as "Germans from the eastern edge." The stanza, with its "seductive love," clearly refers to the large neighbouring German state of Nazi Germany, which has turned its expansive interest to Austria. The poem refers to the Kahlenberg, where in 1683 a German-Polish relief army under John III Sobieski defeated the Ottoman army – a central point of reference for the Austrofascists. The *Vaterländische Front* was founded in 1933, citing the jubilee of 250 years, with the motto "Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will" (Austria Above

3 "Wir Volk an der Wende von Norden nach Süd, / Wir Deutsche vom östlichen Rand, / Seit je von verführender Liebe ummühlt, / Seit je von verfemender Feindschaft umsprühlt, / Begeifert, umbuht und verkannt."

All, If Only She Wills). After that, the Hungarian wind, grapevines, and music are mentioned – all aspects that the Austrofascist patriotism design in its Habsburg and Baroque heritage correspond to. Especially in the turmoil of the inter-war period, which is moored in civil war and German expansion, the lyrical We remembers:

The times are bursting, the world shakes, / and the trenches are opened. / With hatred the brother has surrounded the brother; / the best, fallen by murderous hand, / Fallacy and madness scream to heaven.⁴ (Preradović, 1936, 85).

Leopold III is a cleverly chosen personality, because one of the most famous attributions to the historical figure is that he had renounced the candidacy to be elected German king – and in consequence emperor – in 1125. The poem implies and evokes the fight against the non-Christians, who could be decoded by the contemporary readers also as Nazis, and the renunciation of a career in the great German Reich:

With pure mind you dared to walk / the way of fair compromise; / you who boldly chased away the pagan enemies / and who renounced the crown, full of humility, / The Crown of the Holy Empire.⁵ (Preradović, 1936, 85).

Beyond Preradović's lyrical work, her attitude manifests itself in her “small propaganda book” (Vospernik, 1960, 37), or her “multiple confessional book” (Molden 1955, 56), that appeared under the title *Jugendreich. Die Neuland-Schulsiedlung in Grinzing-Wien* (Empire of Youth. The Neuland School Estate in Grinzing-Wien, 1937). The booklet glorifies the organic life of the peasantry, which should also be brought closer to the city children imprisoned in the “inorganic” life. Austrofascism saw itself as a movement of down-to-earth Christians who wanted to take a stand against the sinful city and set up a natural order. The social ideal was seen in the farm, where everyone has their own place. The conceptions of the Christian social doctrine of the end of the class struggle and a sovereign authority were considered to be realized there. In his well-known programmatic speech at the Vienna Trabrennplatz in September 1933, in which Dollfuss announced that the wheel of history was to be turned back two hundred years, he described the image of this projected national community by means of a peasant family working together with the farmhands and drawing from a common soup bowl together from a common bowl under the cross. Preradović's text sounds very similar in its depiction of peasant life – exemplarily in Slovenia far from Nazi propaganda of blood and soil – is juxtaposed against the turmoil of the times.

4 “Es bersten die Zeiten, es schüttert die Welt, / Die Gräben stehn aufgetan. / Mit Haß hat der Bruder den Bruder umstellt, / Hinsinken die Besten, von Mordhand gefällt, / Zum Himmel schrein Irrsal und Wahn.”

5 “Der lauteren Sinns du zu wandeln gewagt / Die Wege gerechten Vergleichs; / Der kühn du die heidnischen Feinde verjagt / Und der du voll Demut der Krone entsagt, / Der Krone des Heiligen Reichs”

The peasantry with its intensive, organically protected life is really a lost paradise for us civilized people. Like a golden age, it lies behind all those who once left it; its lifestyle full of strength and dignity is irretrievably gone for the race that once became unfaithful to it. [...] Never before had the organic form of life become so clear to me as when I visited a small Slovenian farm; never had the question tortured me so burningly, the question of how the fragmentation of modern cultural life could be guided towards unity, how an aim could be set for its aimlessness, how a generation born into intellectual, economic and political unrest could be given the peace and security necessary for growth. (Preradović, 1936, 5).

In addition, the booklet speaks of the formation of the “new men,” of “leaders,” as well as of the “realization of the idea of the kingdom of God,” which is against “racial and national hatred, and Class struggle.” The thrust against National Socialism and Socialism appears in several places. Nowadays, a martial image in a brochure depicting uniformed boys, drums in hand and waving a banner is as equally unattractive as the idea that in 1933 the anniversary of the defence against the Ottoman Empire was celebrated with “a great, exciting fighting game on the heights of Leopoldsberg,” rather than with solemn speeches and recitations as it was in other schools – and this is presented as evidence of the “free, cheerful spirit of the institution” (Preradović, 1937, 7, 10, 11, 10, 14, 19). Moreover, one should not forget that Preradović shares a closeness to Austrofascism with acknowledged colleagues such as Franz Werfel (1890–1945), Joseph Roth (1894–1939) or Karl Kraus (1874–1936), and that this proximity becomes more understandable if one considers the threat of National Socialism back then. For example, the “Ständestaat” was one of the few voices in the world protesting against the holding of the 1936 Summer Olympic Games in Germany – on account of anti-Semitic discrimination – and calling for a boycott.

In Preradović’s case, her belief and her distance from socialist ideas reinforce this attitude.

A CIRCLE OF FRIENDS BETWEEN AUSTROFASCISM AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Even after the Second World War, the Molden couple did not distance themselves critically from the conservative and reactionary intellectuals. Thus, in *Porträt einer Dichterin* Molden remembers in a very peculiar way the well-known XI Congress of International PEN in Dubrovnik at the end of May 1933 – Molden only remembers the beautiful souvenir, his wife’s poetry debut: “the Viennese branch of the PEN Club could hardly choose a better gift for its conference participants than that of this book by a Viennese poetess descended from the Croatian-Adriatic landscape who immediately received the most universal of recognition” (Molden, 1955, 45). The Congress has written another history, because there the virulent issues of the persecution of Jewish and communist authors in Germany and the book burnings

that had taken place just two weeks previously were not included in the official agenda as points of discussion. The actions of the National Socialists were not condemned by the plenum – because the PEN Club was originally founded as an explicitly apolitical club. Under the new president H. G. Wells, at least in other ways, a stand against the cultural practices of National Socialism was taken. When the exiled Ernst Toller was thus given the floor to comment on questions concerning German “cultural policy”, the German delegation left the room in protest. The real scandal was that members of the delegations from Switzerland, Holland and Austria – of the Austrians, namely, Felix Salten (1869–1945) and Grete Urbanitzky (1891–1974) – joined this protest. Democratic Viennese newspapers called this behaviour of the “PEN-traitors” a “cultural shame” (Amann, 1984, 28–30). The Austrian PEN club, on whose board Preradović was supposed to sit after the war, subsequently drafted a protest letter against the Nazi practices, which was accepted by a 25–15 margin, after which the club broke up. The 25 resolution signatories were stamped in right-wing papers as Jews and placed on blacklists in Germany. Thus, they were subsequently banned from publication: their books disappeared from German bookstores, their plays from the repertoire of German theatres. Many Catholic conservative authors, however, expressed their solidarity with the nationalists and National Socialists and a total of 53 authors left the Austrian PEN, which proved to be very profitable for them when it came to the German book market.

Preradović moved within these Catholic poetry circles, all of which were close to Austrofascism. For example, her close colleague Rudolf Henz (1897–1987), a member of the then Federal Cultural Council and head of the scientific department of broadcasting, staged a Catholic-Austrofascist festival theatre that aimed to have mass influence, such as *St. Michael, führe uns, Weihefestspiel* (St. Michael, Lead Us, Festival of Consecration, 1933), *1. Mai 1934. Huldigung der Stände* (May 1, 1934. Homage of Estates, 1934) or *Pfingstfeuer* (Bonfire of Pentecost, 1935). After the failed July coup of the Nazis in 1934, he wrote on behalf of Kurt Schuschnigg the text for a hymn of the Austrofascist youth movement with the title “*Ihr Jungen schließt die Reihen gut*” (You Boys Close the Ranks Well); this was hoped to be an Austrofascist counterweight to the infamous Horst Wessel song. During the 1930s and 1940s, the apartment of the Molden-Preradović-couple was even called “the most important intellectual salon in Vienna” (Eigl, 1995, 123). A closer look at other friends, with whom she had maintained closer contact, makes it clear that some in this environment kept no distance whatsoever from National Socialism. Max Mell (1882–1971) was, in the 1930s, a proponent of Austrofascism, and his legend plays were prominently placed in the literary landscape. After the condemnation of the book burnings of the National Socialists by the Austrian PEN Club he – albeit not at the first chance but in September 1933 – demonstratively left the club and openly and officially professed himself to be of the national camp. In 1937 he became president of the Association of German Writers of Austria, which was also close to Nazi Germany, publishing in 1938 and later on in various Nazi anthologies,

such as the notorious *Bekenntnisbuch österreichischer Dichter* (Confessional Book of Austrian Poets), in which the “Anschluss” was enthusiastically welcomed and Hitler was celebrated. Mell had a firm place in Viennese literary politics as an embodiment of Catholic-national unity (Müller 1990, 290–302).⁶ Preradović’s close friend Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti (1871–1955) also resigned from the PEN Club in 1933 for the same reason as Mell, and in the same year she became a member of the Academy of Poetry in Nazi Germany.

Preradović’s German friend Ina Seidel (1885–1974), a versatile author who was appointed together with Gottfried Benn (and as the second woman, after Ricarda Huch) to the Prussian Academy of Arts in 1932, identified early with the ideology of National Socialism. In October 1933, she was among those 88 writers who signed the pledge of faithful allegiance to Adolf Hitler, a fact which was announced throughout the German press. This pledge did not remain her last homage to Hitler. Accordingly, in 1944 Hitler included her on the so-called “*Gottbegnadete Liste*” (God-gifted or Important Artist Exempt List), thus designating her as being among the six most important contemporary German writers. The enumeration of problematic contacts could be continued. But it should not be overlooked that, in contrast to these cases, some of Preradović’s Catholic friends also suffered or fled the Nazis – like Felix Braun (1885–1973), who emigrated to Britain from fascist Italy, or the great humanist and playwright Franz Theodor Csokor, who spent an adventurous emigration in central and southern Europe. On the whole, however, many conservative Catholic authors in Austria distanced themselves late or not at all from National Socialism.

PAVE UND PERO AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Unlike many of her friends and peers, Preradović was never close to National Socialism. Though she published little in that time, there was her novel *Pave und Pero* (1940), tracing the history of her grandparents. It was a hitherto well-kept family secret that her grandmother had committed suicide, and this story is now told in the novel: The young wife Pave has to leave both Vienna and her husband Pero (the poet and officer Petar Preradović), for health reasons and to go with her three children to the Veneto town of Motta di Livenza. There she loses another child, but does not tell her husband anything; instead she commits suicide. Molden (1955, 50f) underlines, “For the Austrian [reader], ‘Pave and Pero’ was more than a novel. It was a historical portrait of his homeland, which – even through the very

6 All in all, however, Mell’s relationship to National Socialism is ambivalent: he refused to accept the leadership of the Reichsschrifttumskammer in Vienna that was offered to him. In 1940, a performance ban for Mell’s drama *Das Spiel von den deutschen Ahnen* (The Game of the German Ancestors) and 1941 for *Sieben gegen Theben* (Seven Against Thebes) was issued. Although Mell was admitted to the NSDAP on June 1, 1940, he withdrew his application. He maintained a good relationship with the Gauleiter Baldur von Schirach, who also awarded him the ring of honour of the city of Vienna on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

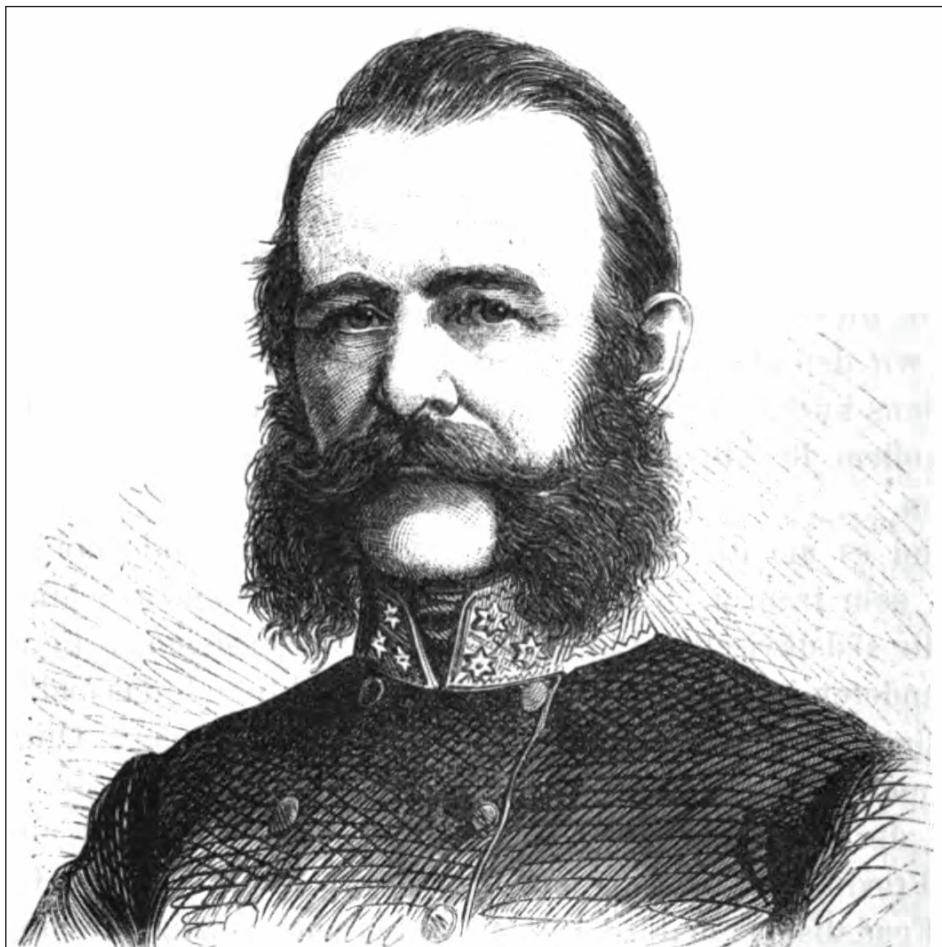


Fig. 3: Petar Preradović, portrait (Wikimedia Commons).

affectionate portrayal it provided – sided with the past and against a hopelessly torn present; it was an Austrian book of the type that had not appeared for a long time.”

The date of publication truly gives the “Austrian” novel a special status: in 1940, during the Second World War, the author described the supranational world of the old monarchy. The Italian protagonist Pave, to whom the reader is brought close, does not share the slogans of this time when she puts little value on political orders: “The most important thing is that you can live where you were born, is it not? That one does not have to live in a foreign land, speak foreign languages, join in foreign customs, eat foreign food. Whether a German Emperor or an Italian King rules over one, is that not the same thing?” (Preradović, 1967, 579).

The positively marked protagonists are sceptical about nationalistic ideas. Even when asked if she feels like an Italian, Pave answers, “I feel like my husband’s wife and the mother of my children. Everything else is too complicated for me. I am Dalmatian and I am descended from Italy, my husband is an Austrian officer and comes from Croatia. My brother Toni says he feels like an Austrian, and my Pero does too, even if he is, at the same time, a passionate Slav” (Preradović, 1967, 671). Throughout the work, there is no resignation to the inevitable fact that the ancient Habsburg lands must be separated forever. Toni states: “But, you know, I often wonder whether the peoples will somehow unite later? Then our Austria, as we know it today, will no longer live, but a new kingdom, or whatever its form will be called, will unite the many again, because they will find it useful to be together. Today the new, warm feeling wants its due, but, who knows, in a hundred or two hundred years the glorious old thought will regain its strength” (Preradović, 1967, 582).

Amazing here is not only this early allusion to European unification, but also the fact that the publication date was 1940. This is, after all, a novel-length plea for multinational coexistence. So it’s less about the Danube Monarchy than a gentle critique of exaggerated nationalism. Nevertheless, Ernst Molden overstates the oppositional aspect when he emphasizes, “It may well be that this very earnest Austrian of the novel and that the implied position in the situation in which it came out and had an unexpectedly rapid success was the main reason for the fact that the regime of the Third Reich refused to provide [...] the paper for further editions” (Molden 1955, 50f).

Molden was wrong. It cannot be assumed that a Nazi censor was reprimanded because this novel had been published. Speaking against such an assumption are the beneficent contemporary criticisms – it was called in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* “one of the best novels of these years” (Eigl, 1967, 741); it gained the stamp of approval for a second edition in Nazi Germany, after the first sold out in just a few weeks (NN, 1950, 388), and there is also the examples of the courteous letter of the Nazi cultural adviser with the apology that this book could not be classified as a “nationally important literature” and that “despite full appreciation of its literary value” a third edition could not be supported in wartime (Eigl 1967, 742). Nor did the Nazis stand in the way of an international distribution: in the same year as the German original, a Croatian edition was also published – thus, still in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, before the Ustasha state – and the following year an Italian translation followed. That all protagonists came from countries that, around 1940, were Nazi-friendly certainly played a role.

The scholarly literature often followed Molden’s position and repeatedly emphasized Preradović’s clear opposition to the National Socialist regime. Mirjam Stančić (2013, 241, 307) exaggerates the liberal opposition, saying she was “Persecuted, arrested and abused by the Nazis for their liberal political views.” Kriegleider (2011, 411) tersely adds Preradović briefly to the “Christian opponent of National Socialism”. This modest formulation can be confirmed, even though hers was, understandably, no open opposition and the husband hyperbolized her Nazi resistance. In fact, the family came under pressure after the annexation of

Austria to the Nazi empire, because the eldest son Otto Molden (1918–2002) was in the federal leadership of a Nazi-hostile youth organization. Accordingly, he was arrested already on March 13, 1938. Like him, his brother Fritz, who also resisted the Nazis in the Catholic underground, was arrested several times and then put into the Wehrmacht. In 1945, the parents then ended up in Gestapo captivity for 17 days because of the sons who had deserted and disappeared, probably not because of the parents' own views and writings, as Stanić says. In 1949, Preradović recalls in a letter to her friend Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti:

This, the hardest time of my life began in the years 1941 and 1942, which are among the worst of times. My noble father-in-law died; our eldest son, Otto, suffered severe heart disease in Russia. He was taken, constantly lying, on an eight-day journey across the whole of the Greater German Reich to Pfalzburg in Lorraine, where he spent six months in the hospital; I myself, also after a serious illness, travelled and was allowed to be near him for nine days. Fritz, our youngest son, at that time still a high school student, was arrested again and again because of his Catholic connections, and at our place one house search after another took place; my beloved brother Peter died in Zagreb; my older brother Ivo was, because of his affiliation to the English General Consulate in Split, whose shipping advisor he was, imprisoned by the Italians and dragged from prison to prison for three years. He was released in May 1944, returned to the Yugoslav Navy, and died in December 1944 as a Yugoslav-British liaison officer aboard a British destroyer south of Lussin in our native waters. (Vospernik, 1960, 38).

Preradović's oft-mentioned distancing of herself from National Socialism is certainly not unjustified. But she was hardly anti-fascist. She even supported the authoritarian Austrofascist regime with her texts. At the end of the war, she also proposed very conciliatory tones towards the defeated Nazis – as in her pro domo, posthumously published letters “An meine Söhne” (To My Sons), in which she portrays the intimidating and enduring times of the end of the war: “I am very shocked to hear that at first the intention is not to give or leave a public office in Austria to any former party comrade. I would long for justice and objectivity in the place of petty vindictiveness” (Preradović, 1967, 1026). Since Nazi-era genocide and war crimes were already known at that time, this was a questionable, good-natured wish.

CONCLUSION

Right after the Second World War, much attention was paid to the Catholic poet. Her text for the new Austrian national anthem prevailed in 1946 over some 1800 submissions, including those by such famous authors as Alexander Lernet-Holenia (1897–1976), Rudolf Henz, and Franz Theodor Csokor. The lyrics were immedi-

ately criticized – and not only by musicologists who did not find it in harmony with the melody lines (e.g., Schollum, 1958, 507). In general, Austrians remained attached to the well-known “Emperor Hymn” by Joseph Haydn for a long time.

But only slight adaptations were demanded of Preradović’s lyrics already in 1946; in 2012 the text was only made gender-neutral. For such a long time there was no other anthem in use in Austria, which makes the political background of their author, who came from Istria to Vienna, even more important.

KULTURNA RAZNOLIKOST VS. NACIONALSOCIALISTIČNA DRŽA.
 PAULA VON PRERADOVIĆ: ISTRANKA IN AVTORICA AVSTRIJSKE
 DRŽAVNE HIMNE

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POVZETEK

Paule von Preradović, ki je odraščala v Puli, se še vedno spominjamo kot avtorice državne himne Druge avstrijske republike. Zato toliko bolj preseneča, da sta njeno delo in življenje danes skoraj pozabljena. Na recepcijo njenih del je močno vplivala njena družina, zlasti glede političnih vprašanj. Njena literarna dela se večinoma nanašajo na Hrvaško in Istro – na pokrajine, prednike, zgodovino in kulturo dežele, ki je pesnico vselej navdihovala. Danes bi njena besedila razumeli kot medkulturno ali migracijsko literaturo. S perspektive življenja na severu piše o domotožju, kulturnem šoku in hrepenenju.

Politika v delih Paule von Preradović je bila razumljena izrecno kot nostalgijsko po Habsburški monarhiji, kar pa je nekoliko neustrezno. Z avstrofašističnim režimom je ne povezuje le odpor do nacistov – takšno politično držo podpirata tudi njena globoka katoliška religioznost in zavračanje socializma, kar se jasno odraža v njenih besedilih iz tistega časa, kot sta na primer Lob Gottes im Gebirge (Hvalnica Bogu v gorah, 1936) in Jugendreich. Die Neuland-Schulsiedlung in Grinzing-Wien (Kraljestvo mladih. Šolska ustanova Neuland v Grinzingu na Dunaju, 1937). Obe deli podrobno sovpadata z avstrofašistično ideologijo. Na splošno je bil krog katoliških umetnikov, h kateremu je spadala tudi Preradovićeva, blizu avtoritarnem režimu; nekateri dobri kolegi kot Max Mell, Enrica von Handel-Mazzetti in Ina Seidel so se celo pridružili nacionalsocializmu. Nasprotno pa se Preradovićeva nikoli ni zbljžala z nemškimi fašisti, ki so bili na oblasti v Avstriji med letoma 1938 in 1945. V tem času je izdala malo del, a njen roman Pave und Pero (Pave in Pero, 1940) poziva k sobivanju različnih narodov. Ne gre toliko za Donavsko monarhijo kot za blago kritiko pretiranega nacionnalizma. Na podlagi romana je razvidno, da je bilo v nemškem rajhu možno objaviti tudi literaturo, ki ni bila v skladu z vladajočo ideologijo.

Kljub temu pa sta njen mož in strokovna literatura njeni opozicijski drži pogosto pripisovala prevelik pomen. Družina je bila v nacističnem rajhu pod pritiskom, ker so bili sinovi Preradovićeve v katoliškem odporniškem gibanju. Nedvomno je bila avtorica nasprotnica nacionalsocializma, a nikakor ne antifašistka, kar je razvidno iz njene podpore avtoritativnemu avstrofašističnemu režimu.

Takoj po drugi svetovni vojni je bila katoliška avtorica deležna veliko pozornosti. Njeno besedilo za novo avstrijsko državno himno je leta 1946 prevladalo med več kot 1800 predlogi. Himna je še vedno v uporabi, kar daje političnemu ozadju avtorice, ki je prišla iz Istre na Dunaj, še večji pomen.

Ključne besede: literarna Istra, avstrijska državna himna, avstrofašizem, nacionalsocializem, Petar Preradović, Paula von Preradović

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PREDNOSTI ITALIJE PRI ZASEDBI JULIJSKE KRAJINE OB KONCU PRVE SVETOVNE VOJNE

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IZVLEČEK

V članku so analizirane tri najpomembnejše politične oziroma pravno-formalne (in ne vojaške) prednosti, ki jih imela ob koncu prve svetovne vojne Italija napram Slovencev in Hrvatov pri zasedbi Julijske krajine. Italija je za svoj vstop v prvo svetovno vojno na strani antante (Londonski memorandum 1915) prejela obljube, med katerimi je bila tudi Julijska krajina. Bila je tudi ena izmed zmagovalk vojne, med tem ko so bili Slovenci in Hrvati v popolnoma drugačnem položaju. Nazadnje so veliko prednost za italijansko stran predstavljali pogoji na koncu vojne, ki jih je morala Avstro-Ogrska sprejeti.

Ključne besede: Italija, Slovenci, Hrvati, Julijska krajina, Londonski memorandum 1915, Avstro-Ogrska, konec prve svetovne vojne

I VANTAGGI CHE EBBE L'ITALIA NELL'OCCUPARE LA VENEZIA GIULIA ALLA FINE DELLA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza tre tra i più importanti vantaggi politici e giuridico-formali (e non quelli militari) che l'Italia aveva avuto nei confronti degli sloveni e croati nell'occupare il territorio della Venezia Giulia alla fine della Prima guerra mondiale. Innanzitutto, erano le promesse che l'Italia aveva ricevuto per il suo ingresso in guerra dalla parte dell'Intesa (il Memorandum di Londra 1915) e tra esse c'era anche la Venezia Giulia. In secondo luogo, fu una delle vincitrici della guerra, mentre sloveni e i croati erano in una posizione completamente diversa. Infine, il grande vantaggio per la parte italiana furono le condizioni alla fine della guerra che l'Austria-Ungheria dovette accettare.

Parole chiave: Italia, sloveni, croati, Venezia Giulia, Memorandum di Londra 1915, Austria-Ungheria, fine della Prima guerra mondiale

UVOD¹

Za italijansko stran je predstavljal konec prve svetovne vojne edinstveno priložnost za dolgo želeno ekspanzijo na vzhod. S tem bi sklenila proces t. i. narodnega zedinjenja (redenzione), hkrati ji je razpad Avstro-Ogrske odprl širše in zelo ambiciozne perspektive, da bi na balkanskem območju prevzela vlogo, kot jo je imel Dunaj v Srednji Evropi. Zaradi razpada habsburške monarhije, ki je do tedaj skoraj v celoti zaobjemala s Slovenci poseljena območja, se je istočasno tudi prvič pojavila konkretna možnost, da bi slovenski narod združil čim več svojega etničnega in etnično mešanega ozemlja (slovenko-italijansko, slovensko-hrvaško-italijanskega) v novo državno tvorbo. Obdobje konec oktobra in začetek novembra 1918 je tako predstavljal tisti prvi pravi zgodovinski trenutek, ko naj bi se začela meja med Italijo in novonastajajočo jugoslovansko državo – na območju Julijske krajine – konkretno zarisovati. Tedaj je bila italijanska stran v veliki prednosti.

Na podlagi analize neobjavljenih in objavljenih primarnih virov, z upoštevanjem najbolj relevantne znanstvene literature (pri tem velja opozoriti na še vedno aktualne študije: Kacin Wohinz, 1972; Lederer, 1966; Visintin, 2000; pregled sodobnejše tematske literature: Visintin, 2012; najnovejša prispevka o razmerah v Julijski krajini ob koncu vojne: Klabjan, 2018; Bajc, 2018), so v članku prikazane najpomembnejše politične oziroma pravno-formalne (in ne vojaške) prednosti, ki jih je tedaj imela Italija napram Slovencev in Hrvatov. Razdelili smo jih v tri kategorije. V prvi so obljube, ki jih je za njen vstop v prvo svetovno vojno na strani antante prejela 26. aprila 1915 s strani Velike Britanije, Francije ter Rusije, in sicer na podlagi podpisa Londonskega memoranduma 1915 (čeprav se je zanj uveljavilo pojmovanje Pakt ali Dogovor²). Druga kategorija se osredotoča na dejstvo, da je bila Italija ena izmed zmagovalk vojne, medtem ko so bili Slovenci in Hrvatje v popolnoma drugačnem položaju, saj jih mednarodna skupnost ni povsem priznala; korenine tega problema segajo vsekakor v leta vojne. Veliko prednost so predstavljali pogoji na koncu vojne, ki jih je morala Avstro-Ogrska sprejeti. To smo uvrstili v tretjo kategorijo. V dosedanjih študijah so bile vse te prednosti seveda omenjene, a so bile le samoumevno obravnavane – nihče se jim ni podrobno posvetil.

- 1 Prispevek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnega programa *Preteklost severovzhodne Slovenije med slovenskimi zgodovinskimi deželami in v interakciji z evropskim sosedstvom*, št. P6-0138, in raziskovalnih projektov *Kontemporalnost razumevanjskega konteksta ter izražanje osebne in družbene svobode*, št. J7-8283, *Kultura spominjanja gradnikov slovenske države*, št. J6-9354, ter *Antifašizem v Julijski krajini v transnacionalni perspektivi, 1919–1954*, št. J6-9356. Financira jih Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije – ARRS.
- 2 Podrobneje o medvojnih obljudbah zaveznikov za njen vstop v vojno proti centralnim silam, pravilnem poimenovanju dogovora iz aprila 1915 in drugih terminoloških vprašanjih glede dogovarjanj ter stanju raziskav v: Bajc, 2017.

KAJ JE BILO PO LONDONSKEM MEMORANDUMU 1915 PREDVIDENO TER TEŽA MEDVOJNIH OBLJUB ITALIJI

V prvi vrsti je velika prednosti Italije izhajala iz medvojnih obljud zaveznikov za njen vstop v vojno proti centralnim silam. V tajnem Londonskem memorandumu iz leta 1915³ je bilo med drugim predvideno, da bo dobila tudi naslednja območja: južno Tirolsko in Tridentinsko ter Julijsko krajino (čl. 4 in 7), severni del Dalmacije (čl. 5 in 7), nekaj predelov Albanije (pristanišče Vlorë in otok Sazan ter dovoljšna sosednja območja, da bi lahko te točke branila (čl. 6 in 7)), nekaj predelov Osmanskega cesarstva (suverenost nad Dodekaneškimi otoki ter Libijo in – v generičnem smislu –, da se ji zagotovi njej interes glede ohranjanja ravnovesja v Sredozemlju ter v primeru delnega ali popolnega poraza Osmanov nek pravičen delež v sredozemski regiji zraven današnje turške pokrajine Antalya (čl. 8, 9, 10 in 12)), nazadnje pa – v zelo generični obliki –, v primeru, če bi Francija in Velika Britanija na račun Nemčije povečali svoje kolonialne posesti v Afriki, bi obe načeloma Italiji priznavali, da lahko ta zahteva določeno nadomestilo (čl. 13).

5. člen je še (sicer ne ravno precizno) predvideval, da bo del jadranske obale dodeljen Hrvaški, Srbiji in Črni Gori, medtem ko Slovenija in/ali Slovenci v Memorandumu niso bili nikjer omenjeni. Namesto tega je bilo v 4. členu posebej zapisano, da bo Italija v Julijski krajini dobila tudi naslednja območja: Trst, okrožje Gorice in Gradiške (ali Gradiščanske) ter celotno Istro do Kvarnerja. Tako so bili Italiji obljudljeni nekateri slovenski in slovenko-italijanski kraji. Mejna črta bo šla južno od prelaza Predel (v francoskem orig. “col Predil”; it. Predil: današnji mednarodni mejni cestni prelaz med Italijo in Slovenijo v Julijskih Alpah), do gore Mangart; dalje do Triglava (v francoskem orig. “le Tricorno (Terglou)”; nato na prelomnici prelazov Podbrdo, Podlanišče in Idrija (v francoskem orig. “et la ligne de partage des eaux des cols de Podberdo, de Podlaniscam et d’Idria”); od tu bo mejna črta šla jugovzhodno v smer proti Snežniku, pri čemer bo izven italijanskega ozemlja izpustila vso porečje Save in njenih pritokov; od Snežnika se bo meja spustila do obale, tako da bo italijansko ozemlje vključilo hrvaške kraje Kastav, Matulji in Volosko (v francoskem orig. “la direction du sud-est vers le Schneeberg, laissant hors du territoire italien tout le bassin de la Save et de ses tributaires; du Schneeberg la frontière descendra vers la côte de manière à inclure Castua, Mattuglia et Volosca dans le territoire italien”).

V svojih predvojnih in medvojnih načrtovanjih in politično-diplomatskih prizadovanjih, kot je lepo razvidno v najnovejših dokumentiranih razpravah (Žitko, 2015; Orsina & Ungari, 2016; Bizjak, 2017; Monzali, 2017; Milano, 2017), so v italijanskih krogih radi naglaševali, da določena območja potrebujejo, ker bi

³ TNA FO 93/48/56, *Italy No. 56. Agreement providing for Italian Co-operation in the European War [France and Russia also parties], London, April 26, 1915*. To je ena izmed štirih uradnih kopij originala v francoskem jeziku. Glede poznejših objav in prevodov Memoranduma, ki pa niso bili vsi popolni ali povsem skladni z originalom, podrobneje v: Bajc, 2017, 836–842.

s tem ojačali obrambo na svojem severovzhodu. Lahko torej rečemo, da je bilo aprila 1915 Italiji obljudljeno veliko ozemlja, hkrati pa ji je bilo omogočeno, da bi lahko v prihodnosti v primeru eventualnega napada iz severovzhodne strani učinkovito branila celotno območje današnjega Tridentinsko-Zgornjega Poadižja, Primorske in Istre, pa tudi širše Karnije, Furlanije ter Jadrana. Branjenje slednjega bi ji omogočala predvsem prisvojitev nekaterih predelov Albanije.

Posebno poglavje predstavlja vprašanje ali so se Memoranduma iz leta 1915 držali. Odgovor je na tem mestu lahko le zelo poenostavljen: niso se ga povsem in to večkrat. Že med vojno na primer Rusija ni izpolnjevala določenih obveznosti, Italija sama pa se ni držala morda tiste najvažnejše, saj ni uporabila vseh svojih resursov proti vsem sovražnikom antante (čl. 2). Avstro-Ogrska je napadla že 23. maja 1915, Nemčijo pa šele dobro leto pozneje, in sicer 27. avgusta 1916.

Kot je na primer Luca Riccardi, eden izmed vodilnih italijanskih specialistov za diplomatsko zgodovino, zelo preprtičljivo analiziral primarne vire različnih prove-nienc (Riccardi, 1992, 599–614), so od začetka leta 1918 v Londonu in Parizu (tudi zaradi programa 14. točk predsednika Združenih držav Amerike Thomasa Woodro-wa Wilsona) začeli razmišljati, da morda ne bi izpolnili prav vseh medvojnih obljud Italiji, in sicer ne samo tistih v povezavi z Memorandumom 1915, ampak tudi v zvezi s povojno razdelitvijo v Mali Aziji in vplivom v zahodnem delu Sredozemlja. Začeli so se nakazovati problemi, ki so naslednje mesece okarakterizirali zakulisna dogovarjanja in nato vplivali na polemike v javnosti.

Ne glede na to in na dejstvo, da je bila v Memorandumu 1915, kot že zapisano, večkrat prisotna generičnost oziroma v njem ni bilo preciznosti,⁴ so zavezniki med vojno in po njej vztrajali na tem, da morajo tudi v spremenjenih okoliščinah podpirati izpolnjevanje danih obljud – ali pa vsaj večino njih. Ker se je nakazovala ustanovitev jugoslovanske države, ki bi Italiji prekrižala račune (podrobneje v nadaljevanju), so vodilni v Londonu hiteli zagotavljati vedno bolj skeptični italijanski diplomaciji,⁵ da ostaja Velika Britanija vezana na medvojne oblube.⁶

Medtem so se v okviru Foreign Officea – seveda v interni obliki – razvijale debate o novonastalih razmerah. Jasno je bilo, da ohranja Memorandum 1915 še zmeraj svojo odločilno težo. Tako ni manjkalo opozoril po doslednem nastopu pred italijanskimi diplomati. Predstavnik zunanjega ministrstva Howard je na primer 7. decembra 1918 svaril, da se morajo izogniti katerikoli možnosti, da bi se pronemške simpatije v italijanski državi (Howard je namreč ocenjeval, da so še zmeraj

4 Nenatančnost je bila značilna tudi ob drugih prilikah razmejitve na območju jugoslovansko-italijanske meje in tudi zaradi tega ni bila ta meja po drugi svetovni vojni povsem precizno speljana. Šele Osimskimi sporazumi iz leta 1975 (in naposled z izmenjavo ratifikacijskih listin dve leti pozneje) so odpravili določene nerodočenosti, in sicer na Goriškem in na morju.

5 DDI, 6/I, 55, 70, 97–98, 104, dok. 105, 135, 187, 202: Orlando a Imperiali, Londra (T. RR. 2818), 11. 11. 1918; Orlando a Imperiali, Londra (T. UU. P. R. 2835), 13. 11. 1918; Imperiali, Londra a Orlando (T. RR. 2483), 16. 11. 1918; Orlando a Imperiali, Londra (T. 2903), 18. 11. 1918.

6 DDI, 6/I, 145–146, dok. 294: Imperiali, Londra a Orlando (T. 2554/463), 23. 11. 1918; TNA FO 371/3137/195820, Balfour to Rodd (N. 488, Confidential), 23. 11. 1918.

zelo močne) še bolj razvile. Obenem je podčrtal, da so na obljube Italiji še vedno vezani in ob tem poudarjal njeno vlogo v vojni, ko je na primer – ne da bi zahtevala nagrade – držala oblubo, da ne bo v prvem tednu vojne napadla Francije, zato pa je lahko slednja svoje čete uporabila v prvi zmagi na Marni. Howard je še menil, da morajo Italijo tudi upoštevati kot pomembno silo v Sredozemlju, po drugi strani nimajo pretiranih razlogov za to, da podpirajo Jugoslovane, saj v vojni zaveznikom niso bili v veliko pomoč. Z njimi, je pristavil, želijo seveda doseči čim boljši dogovor, a to ne sme biti v škodo dobrih odnosov z Italijani in povod za tveganje, da se slednji obrnejo na Nemčijo. Zaključil je, da mu je Gaetano Salvemini, stari prijatelj pred odhodom iz Rima, zagotovil, da si v njegovi stranki (se pravi reformističnih socialistov) res želijo dobrih odnosov z Jugoslavijo in so proti taki politiki, ki bi vodila v trenja. Eden izmed funkcionarjev na britanskem zunanjem ministrstvu je 10. decembra podčrtal, da bodo morali biti v britanski delegaciji na prihodnji mirovni konferenci poenoteni glede danih obvez predvsem Italiji. Naslednji dan je drug funkcionar Foreign Office menil, da morajo vendarle upoštevati dejstvo, da je Italija sprejela princip o samoodločbi, hkrati pa ni razlogov, da bi ji dovolili, da doseže prav vse, kar želi, saj morajo Britanci v novih okoliščinah upoštevati tudi Jugoslovane, Srbe in Grke ter seveda Američane. Po drugi strani je italijanska stran z zasedbo več ključnih točk na Jadranu že pridobila strateške pozicije.⁷ Na tem mestu moramo dodati, da če je bil Salvemini – med drugim tudi priznani zgodovinar – od začetka prve vojne na strani t. i. demokratičnega intervencionizma in torej za sobivanje s sosedji in za njihovo pravico po samoodločbi ter s tem na Wilsonovi liniji (pozneje pa eden izmed prvih odločnih kritikov Benita Mussolinija), to še ni bilo odločilno v italijanski politiki. Drugače rečeno, naivno se je bilo zanašati na njegove principe o skupnem sobivanju. Obenem sta omenjena komentarja večinoma pravilno predvidela bodoče scenarije, ki so se pojavili na pariški mirovni konferenci. Pričata pa tudi o tem, da so bila še konec leta v okviru britanske diplomacije različna mnenja v zvezi z izpolnjevanjem danih obljub.

Situacija se je vedno bolj zapletala. Zgovoren je bil primer spomenice, ki so jo 11. decembra sestavili v Foreign Officeu. Avtorji dokumenta so trdili, da bi se razmere zelo zakomplificirale, če bi želeli dati Italiji zadoščenje za njeno vlogo v vojni. Vsekakor zanje ni bilo nobenega dvoma, da bodo narodnostno mešana območja, poseljena tudi s Slovenci, prešla pod Italijo. Bila so namreč vključena v obljube iz leta 1915. Problematična so se jim zdela le območja, kjer Italijanov ni bilo, a jih je Italija zahtevala – vedno na podlagi Memoranduma 1915 –, in sicer, da bi si zagotovila svojo varnost.⁸ Ta spomenica in podobne, ki so nastale v naslednjih dneh

7 TNA FO 371/4356/P.C. 177, Howard, Foreign Office to Tyrrell (Private), 7. 12. 1918; komentar, podpisani s črko K, 10. 12. 1918; komentar, podpisani z začetnicama R. P., 11. 12. 1918.

8 TNA FO 371/4356/P.C. 131, Foreign Office (P. 27, Confidential): *The Question of Italian Claims*, 11. 12. 1918; cfr. TNA ADM 116/3237, 37.

in mesecih,⁹ so torej nakazovale, da bodo v Parizu ravno Slovenci imeli najmanj možnosti, kar se je v resnici tudi zgodovalo.

Če poenostavimo, lahko rečemo, da se je izoblikovala naslednja uradna linija Londona: vezani smo na dane obljube Italiji, čeprav bi hkrati žeeli narediti vse, kar bi bilo možno, da bi jo prepričali, naj deloma popusti. Zunanji minister Arthur Balfour je o takšni drži 23. decembra 1918 razlagal članom vladnega kabineta in dodal, da je bil položaj Jugoslovanov leta 1915 povsem drugačen kot ob koncu vojne, Italija pa se očitno za to ni menila. Ravno nasprotno, zahtevala je tudi Reko,¹⁰ ki ji je Memorandum ni prisojal.

ITALIJA, ZMAGOVALKA VOJNE, TER PROBLEM (NE)PRIZNANJA SLOVENCEV IN HRVATOV IN SPORI OKOLI NASTANKA KRALJEVINE SHS

Druga velika prednost Italije je bilo nesporno dejstvo, da je bila ena izmed zmagovalk vojne, medtem ko so imeli ob koncu vojne Slovenci in Hrvatje nedoločen status: pravno-formalno so spadali v okvir Avstro-Ogrske, ki je bila naposled poražena in je tudi razpadla. Poleg tega nova Država Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov (Država SHS), ki je nastala 29. oktobra 1918, ni doživela kljub stikom s tujino pravega mednarodnega priznanja (podrobneje Perovšek, 1998, 61–76). Ko se je 1. decembra združila s Kraljevino Srbijo v Kraljevino Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev (Kraljevina SHS), je nato slednja vsaj nekaj mesecev doživljala podobno usodo. Na mirovni konferenci v Parizu je namreč mednarodna skupnost formalno priznavala le Kraljevino Srbijo (podrobneje Rahten & Šumrada, 2011). Da pa nam bo kontekst omenjenega nepriznavanja jasnejši, moramo upoštevati, kako se medvojna prizadevanja slovenskih in hrvaških politikov (ki so delovali v okviru Jugoslovenskega odbora), ki so delovali v smeri prejema neke vrste priznanja s strani odločajočih držav, niso uresničila. Korenine problema so torej segale v medvojna leta, dodatno so se razmere zakomplikirale zaradi nasprotajočih si pogledov, kdo bo v jugoslovenski državi najpomembnejši.

Čeprav so bili še vedno formalno del obrambne Trojne zveze z Nemškim cesarstvom in Avstro-Ogrsko, so predstavniki Italije že od leta 1914 bodoče zavezničke Britance opozarjali na potencialne “slovenske” pretenzije na vzhodnem delu Jadranja. Se pravi, da tu – kot je tudi tedanji italijanski tisk večkrat pisal – “Slovani”

9 Npr. TNA FO 371/4356/P.C. 153, Political Intelligence Department, Foreign Office (P.C./016, Secret): *The Claims of Italy*, 24. 12. 1918; cfr. TNA ADM 116/3237, 37; TNA FO 608/40/4, 2536, G. Hope, Rear-Admiral, British Empire Delegation (W.C.P. 140, Secret): “*The Claims of Italy*”, Memorandum by the Foreign Office on Paper P.C. 016 (W.C.P. 139), 19. 2. 1919; cfr. TNA FO 608/40/4, 3147. Glej tudi: Bajc, 2011, 111–115.

10 TNA CAB 23/42/17, Imperial WC 45 (Secret), 23. 12. 1918; cfr. TNA ADM 116/3237, 37, Imperial War Cabinet 45: *Draft Minutes of a Meeting*, 23. 12. 1918.

ogrožajo “naravne” italijanske meje¹¹ (in ne obratno). Tudi zaradi tega je popolnoma razumljivo, da med prvo svetovno vojno Rim ni imel nobenega interesa po kakem priznanju morebitne nove jugoslovanske države, ki bi nastala na ruševinah Avstro-Ogrske, saj bi ji predstavljala konkurenco v Jadranskem morju in bi se lahko obljuhe zaveznikov predrugačile.

Vsekakor med vojno niso bili vsi italijanski politiki povsem nepopustljivi do “Jugoslovanov”, in sicer predvsem po tem, ko se je jeseni 1917 Italija znašla v težkem položaju. Kot je zgodovinopisje že dobra osvetlilo (na primer Valiani, 1966; Šepić, 1968, 32–33, 36–37; Šepić, 1989, 271–310; Burgwyn, 1993, 150–154; Klabjan, 2007, 84–85; Mljač, 2011, 73–76; Leoncini, 2014), je namreč hud poraz njene vojske pri Kobaridu povzročil pravi interni politični potres. Vlada Antonia Salandre je padla in zamenjal ga je Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, ki pa je kljub vsemu na mestu zunanjega ministra obdržal Sidneya Sonnina. To je pomenilo, da so ostale temeljne značilnosti italijanske zunanje politike nespremenjene. Zaradi nevarnega položaja na fronti in novih političnih razmer, ko so se začele širše razprave glede načela o samoodločbi narodov (predvsem kot posledica Wilsonovega programa 14. točk), so v Rimu ustanovili Italijanski parlamentarni odbor za pogajanja z narodi pod Avstro-Ogrsko (se pravi, tudi Čehov in Slovakov, saj je do tedaj Italija vztrajno nasprotovala ustanovitvi Češkoslovaške, ker bi slednja pomenila posredno uveljavitev ideje o jugoslovanski državi). Vodil ga je poslanec Andrea Torre, ki je navezal prve stike z Jugoslovanskim odborom v Londonu. Sodelovanje je nato vzpostavil tudi predsednik vlade Orlando, ki se je januarja 1918 v britanski prestolnici sestal z vodilnim članom odbora Antejem Trumbićem in ga povabil v Rim. Dne 7. marca je bil podpisan preliminarni sporazum, ki je naposled privедel do rimskega Kongresa zatiranih narodov Avstro-Ogrske, ki je potekal od 8. do 10. aprila 1918. Desetega v mesecu je bil podpisan in obenem objavljen t. i. rimske sporazum. Med drugim je vseboval naslednje: združitev in neodvisnost jugoslovanskega naroda je življenjski interes Italije; izpopolnitev narodne enotnosti Italije je življenjski interes jugoslovanskega naroda; oba naroda bosta v interesu bodočih dobrih sosedskih odnosov rešila posamezna sporna ozemeljska vprašanja na temelju narodnostnega načela in pravice do samoodločbe; skupinam enega naroda, ki naj bi bile vključene v meje drugega, bodo priznali in zajamčili pravico do spoštovanja jezika, kulture ter moralnih in ekonomskih interesov. Trumbić je nato na pobudo rimske vlade “Jugoslove” na italijanski fronti pozval, naj prestopijo na italijansko stran. Posledično je več “jugoslovenskih” (podobno kot slovaških in čeških) vojakov začelo množično zapuščati avstro-garske vrste in prestopati na antantno stran. V resnici je bil t. i. rimske sporazum zgolj neka moralna obveza in ni imel značilnosti mednarodne pogodbe, kajti podpisal ga ni nobeden iz vrst italijanske vlade (spretno se je torej

¹¹ Npr. TNA FO 371/2008/50148, Rood to Grey (No. 374, Secret), 16. 9. 1914; 51128, Rood to Grey (No. 374, Confidential), 19. 9. 1914; 58629, Rood to Grey (No. 443, Secret Series), 12. 10. 1914; TNA FO 371/2009/62966, Rood to Grey (No. 402), 14. 10. 1914; 66185, Rood to Grey (No. 417), 23. 10. 1914; TNA FO 371/2376/51340, Rood (No. 285), 28. 4. 1915 in komentarji Foreign Officea, 29. 4. 1915.

izognila sprejetju kakršnihkoli obvez), ki je ostajala zelo skeptična, ker je v bistvu izključeval prejete oblube na podlagi Londonskega memoranduma 1915. Odobranje je med tem doživel v liberalnih krogih in v okviru osrednjega dnevnika, *Il Corriere della Sera*, kar pa ni bilo odločilno.

Vladni krogi v Londonu in Parizu so si med vojno kar veliko časa prizadevali, da bi se vendarle ohranila neka avstro-ogrška tvorba. Šele od poletja 1918 dalje so doumeli neizbežnost južnoslovanskih teženj in da bo moralno priti do njihove združitve v novi skupni državi. Južne Slovane so tako proti koncu vojne vodilni Britanci in Francozi začeli podpirati, a le moralno, saj so uradno priznanje vsakič preložili, da se ne bi zamerili italijanski vladi. Zelo dobro so se namreč zavedali, da so vezani na medvojne oblube iz leta 1915 (Lederer, 1966, 35–70; Evans, 2008, 159–185; Sretenović, 2011, 19, 24–28; Pavlović, 2015, 247–353).

V italijanskih krogih so se poleti 1918 razlike v pogledih do jugoslovanskega vprašanja povečale. Ministrski predsednik Orlando je postajal bolj popustljiv od zunanjega ministra Sonnina, še najbolj pa se je izpostavil na stran "Jugoslovanov" voditelj reformističnih socialistov Leonida Bissolati, od novembra 1917 do konca 1918 tudi minister za vojaško pomoč in vojne pokojnine. Avgusta se je tako v Italiji vedno bolj izoblikovala potreba, naj se vendarle sprejme definitivno držo glede nacionalnih gibanj v okviru Dvojne monarhije. Že omenjeni list *Il Corriere della Sera* je pisal v tej smeri in pri tem poudarjal, da bo imel predsednik Wilson na mirovnih pogajanjih velik vpliv in da hkrati zavrača dogovor, ki so ga leta 1915 podpisali v Londonu (kot vemo, je postala vsebina Londonskega memoranduma – čeprav ne v popolni obliki – javnosti znana konec novembra 1917). Britanski diplomati teh premikov seveda niso spregledali.¹² Prav tako jim ni ušel poskus Orlandove mediacije med Bissolatijem in Sonninom septembra 1918. Zaradi močnega pritiska v vladi je slednji naposled sprejel, da bo pri zaveznikih preveril, ali bi bili pripravljeni objaviti deklaracijo v korist nastanka neke svobodne jugoslovanske države,¹³ čeprav ga je pred tem, 30. junija, italijanski veleposlanik v Parizu, Lelio Bonin Longare, opozoril, naj se glede jugoslovanskih (pa tudi romunskih) zahtev ne prenagli.¹⁴ Britanski analitiki so si med tem o Sonninu ustvarili mnenje, da deluje povsem v skladu z Londonskim memorandumom. Možno je zaznati sledeče ocene glede italijanskega zunanjega ministra: zelo si prizadeva, da se bodo oblube iz leta 1915 izpolnile; nasprotuje jugoslovanski ideji in je celo naklonjeno nekaterim kompromisom z ridimenzionirano Avstro-Ogrsko, saj je precej skeptičen glede popolne zmage antante; naklonjen je le ne preveč razširjeni Srbiji, ki naj pridobi možnost trgovskega razvoja na Jadranu, ne pa pomorskih in mornariških baz – glede tega deli predsodke iridentistov ter nacionalistov o Slovanih in je naklonjen stari tezi

12 TNA FO 371/3137/150587, Phipps, Paris to Balfour (No. 658), 29. 8. 1918. Glej tudi mnenje tedanjega predstavnika italijanske diplomacije v Londonu glede komentarjev britanskih časopisov (DDI, 5/XI, 346–347, dok. 447–448: Borghese, Londra a Sonnino (R. 3256/1069 in 3257/1070), 26. 8. 1918 [dvakrat]).

13 TNA FO 371/3137/153821, Erskine, Rome (No. 642, Confidential), 7. 9. 1918; 157243, Erskine, Rome (No. 656), 14. 9. 1918.

14 DDI, 5/XI, 129–130, dok. 160: Bonin, Parigi a Sonnino (T. Gab. R. 1374/368), 30. 6. 1918.

vojske in mornarice o strateški potrebi Italije, da pridobi tudi ozemlja v Dalmaciji.¹⁵

Skoraj istočasno so Francozi pri Britancih sondirali, ali bi priznali Trumbičev Jugoslovanski odbor (sicer v virih večkrat piše “Jugo Slav National Council”), podobno kot so priznali Narodni svet Čehov in Slovakov. Vsaj na britanski strani so bili glede tega skeptični. V prvi vrsti ne bi žeeli storiti takega koraka, če se ne bi s tako potezo strinjala tudi Italija, obenem Jugoslovanski odbor naj ne bi imel takega vpliva med prebivalstvom, kot ga je imel češko-slovaški, kot niti ni imel svoje vojske. V Foreign Officeu so posebej podčrtali, da je problem tudi v srbski vladi in kvečjemu bi za priznanje moral njen vodja Nikola Pašić skupaj s Trumbičem zaprositi zaveznike.¹⁶ Tudi ameriška administracija naj bi tedaj menila, da so češko-slovaški napor prekašali jugoslovanske.¹⁷ S podobnimi argumenti je naslednji mesec francoški zunanji minister Stephen Pichon pomirjevalno razlagal italijanskim diplomatom, da se njegova vlada ne namerava solistično zavzeti za novo jugoslovansko državo.¹⁸ Očitno se v Londonu in Parizu ter tudi v Washingtonu niso žeeli zameriti Rimu (in po svoje niti Srbom), in tako držo so obdržali še dalje, čeprav je sredi septembra 1918 vendarle nekaj časa kazalo, da se bo linija omehčala.

Italijanska stran je namreč kljub vsemu 13. septembra 1918 pokazala pripravljenost dati neko javno izjavo glede priznanja države jugoslovanskih narodov. Pogojevala jo je s tem, da mora biti to v sozvočju z upoštevanjem vseh obljub iz aprila 1915 ter z načeli, za katere so se zaveznički borili. Namen nove države naj bi torej bil prispevati k trajnemu miru. Italijanske diplome je seveda zanimalo mnenje zaveznikov. Francozi so bili nad potezo navdušeni, veleposlanik v Parizu Bonin pa je tedaj tudi izrabil priložnost in francoskemu zunanjemu ministru Pichonu predočil, da morajo ostati vsi dogovori Londonskega memoranduma veljavni. Vladi ZDA in Velike Britanije sta namen iskreno pozdravili, čeprav so v Foreign Officeu z odgovorom zavlačevali.¹⁹ O italijanskih namenih je sicer britanski The Times pisal že 13. v mesecu in poudaril, da je pričakovati neko nedvoumno izjavo v korist jugoslovanskih aspiracij. V tej smeri sta se nato v naslednjih dneh

15 TNA CAB 24/57/29, Political Intelligence Department, Foreign Office (GT 5028): *Baron Sonnino (Italy/003)*, 3. 7. 1918.

16 TNA FO 371/3137/154848, Cecil to Balfour, 9. 9. 1918; komentar Foreign Officea, 16. 9. 1918.

17 Tako mnenje so si ustvarili italijanski diplomiati v ZDA (npr. DDI, 5/XI, 403–405, dok. 540: Macchi di Celere, Washington a Sonnino (T. Gab. Confidenziale 1820/213), 18. 9. 1918).

18 DDI, 5/XI, 442, dok. 607: Bonin, Parigi a Sonnino (T. Gab. R. 1920/523), 2. 10. 1918.

19 DDI, 5/XI, 387–388, 390, 395–396, 403–405, 410, dok. 507, 514, 523, 540, 550: Sonnino a Bonin, Parigi, Macchi di Celere, Washington e Borghese, Londra (T. Gab. 1306), 13. 9. 1918; Bonin, Parigi a Sonnino (T. Gab. 1764/479), 14. 9. 1918; Borghese, Londra a Sonnino (T. Gab. 1784/336), 16. 9. 1918; Macchi di Celere, Washington a Sonnino (T. Gab. Confidenziale 1820/213), 18. 9. 1918; Borghese, Londra a Sonnino (T. Gab. 1829/350 in 1830/351), 20. in 21. 9. 1918; TNA FO 371/3137/158233, Borghese, Italian Embassy London (No. 3537, Urgent), 14. 9. 1918 [original v italijanščini in angleški prevod]; Foreign Office to Borghese, 20. 9. 1918; 158837, Borghese, Italian Embassy London (No. 3548, Urgent), 16. 9. 1918 [original v italijanščini in angleški prevod].

razpisala francoska lista, *Journal des Débats in Temps*.²⁰ Tako je možno oceniti, da je pri tem šlo za očiten pritisk s strani francoskih in britanskih vplivnih krogov na italijansko politiko, hkrati so v Londonu iskali potrdilo o izjavi pri Sonninu. Slednji je predstavniku britanske ambasade v Rimu Williamu Erskineu izjavil, da je pač "Mr. Steed" (se pravi Wickham Steed, torej *The Times*) pretiraval. V isti sapi je tudi dodal, da si italijanska vlada prizadeva, da bi ZDA na nek način priznale sporazum iz Londona (1915).²¹ V danih okolišinah bi bilo seveda slednje za Rim zdaleč najpomembnejše. Kot vemo, mu ni to nikoli uspelo in Wilson je tudi po vojni ostajal odločen nasprotnik tajnim dogovorom, kar je dodatno zaostriло razmere na mirovni konferenci v Parizu (npr. Alatri, 1959; Lederer, 1966; Butler, 1968; Kissinger, 1994, 218–245; Schulzinger, 1998, 82–124; Macmillan, 2001; Goldstein, 2002; Lipušček, 2003; Sharp, 2008; Rahten & Šumrada, 2011; Conze, 2019).

Dne 25. septembra 1918 je italijanska stran res objavila neko načelno in lahko bi rekli tudi bolj ohlapno izjavo (Ministrski svet jo je sicer sprejel že 8. v mesecu) v korist jugoslovenskih narodov in njihove osamosvojitve v obliki svobodne države. Vsebovala je običajno formulacijo, da naj bo to v luči principov, ki so med vojno vodili zaveznike.²² Italijanska javnost in časopisi so se nanjo takoj pozitivno odzvali, zadeve pa so se zaostrike v parlamentu. Vrhunec zaostritve italijanske politike je bil viden v začeku obstrukcije Orlandoovih pristašev proti Sonninu. Na dan so prišle mahinacije, ki so se že kake tri mesece "kuhale", in sicer, da bi Orlando prevzel tudi zunanje ministrstvo. V tej "kuhinji" naj bi imeli celo Francozi vmes svoje prste, kar je razlagal izkušeni britanski veleposlanik v Rimu Rennell Rodd in podčrtal, da je v ospredju Sonninove politike ostajalo sledeče ključno vprašanje: Italija se ne sme odpovedati prednosti iz Londonskega memoranduma 1915, saj se bo le tako lahko končno na svojih severozahodnih mejah obranila pred večnim tekmečem (očitno je bila s tem mišljena Avstria). Vladi je tedaj celo grozilo, da bo padla, potencialni novi mandatar, Francesco Saverio Nitti, pa tako rizične poteze v tedanjem ključnem momentu ob zaključku vojne ni upal izpeljati (Orlinda je zamenjal šele leto pozneje, 23. junija 1919). Zanj pozicije kolegov niso bile tako nepremostljive, izbrana formulacija izjave pa je tudi dopuščala, da je vsaka stran ohranila svoj pogled.²³ Se pravi, "volk sit, koza cela" oziroma po eni strani se je pred domačo in tujo javnostjo italijanska politika pokazala manj rigidno, a obenem so v igri ostajale prednosti iz Londonskega memoranduma 1915, vlada z nekompromisnim Sonninem na čelu diplomacije pa tudi.

V naslednjih dneh se je situacija zakomplikirala tudi na "jugoslovanski" strani. Konec septembra je *Temps* problemu nastanka jugoslovenske države še dalje posvečal precej pozornosti. Objavil je Pašičeve izjavo o združitvi južnoslovanskih na-

20 TNA FO 371/3137/160707, Derby, Paris (No. 1138), 21. 9. 1918 in izrezek iz *The Times*: The 'Yugo-Slav Nation.' Recognition by Italy, 13. 9. 1918.

21 TNA FO 371/3137/161039, Erskine, Rome to Balfour (No. 294, Confidential), 19. 9. 1918.

22 TNA FO 371/3137/163074, Rodd, Rome (No. 1683), 25. 9. 1918.

23 TNA FO 371/3137/166419, Rodd, Rome to Balfour (No. 300, Secret), 25. 9. 1919.

rodom. Na dan so tako prišli številni, še nerešeni problemi jugoslovanske združitve, ko je predvsem srbska stran že zelela ohraniti prvenstveno vlogo. Nad tem voditelji Črne gore že vsaj od leta 1917 niso bili nadvušeni, ker bi to pomenilo izgubo svoje neodvisnosti (leta 1878 jim je uspelo, da je Črna gora postala kneževina, leta 1910 pa se je Nikola I. samoproglašil za kralja). Izoblikovala sta se tudi dva popolnoma nasprotujoča si tabora. Mlajši, predvsem tisti, ki so bili v tujini, so zagovarjali jugoslovansko idejo, krogi okoli kralja pa si ji nasprotovali.²⁴ Zaradi tega se je konec leta 1918 in na začetku naslednjega v Črni gori tudi pripetilo več incidentov, razmere pa je dodatno oteževala slaba organiziranost na terenu, kar je bilo vidno v pomankanju hrane, neprimernih cestnih in drugih povezavah ter slabih razmerah v zdravstvu.²⁵

Še težji so bili odnosi med srbsko stranko in Jugoslovanskim odborom. Po eni strani je Trumbić septembra 1918 celo namignil italjanskemu predstavniku v Švici, da bo nova država res pod Karadorđeviči, idealna prestolnica pa ne bi bila Beograd, ampak Sarajevo.²⁶ Po drugi pa je vodja Odbora žezel pred Britanci minimizirati težave, za katere je kriva država Pašičeve vlade, ker naj bi vztrajala pri naslednjih predpostavkah: zavezniki naj priznajo le Srbiji zasluge za boj na njihovi strani; naj jugoslovanskim prostovoljcem iz Avstro-Ogrske ne priznajo statusa zavezniških bojnih enot; Jugoslovanski odbor ne sme prejeti priznanja, da je predstavnik "Jugoslovanov" iz Avstro-Ogrske. Z drugimi besedami, za Pašića naj bi Srbija uživala status edinega pravega jugoslovanskega predstavnika.²⁷ Trumbičev odbor je med tem sestavil predlog deklaracije, s katero bi ga zavezniki priznali. V Foreign Office ga je interno analiziral eden izmed vodilnih britanskih izvedencev za vprašanja jugovzhodne Evrope, Alexander Wigram Allan Leeper. Poudaril je potrebo, da mora britanska vlada izvajati dosledno politiko do vseh narodov Avstro-Ogrske, ki si prizadevajo za samostojnost. Edini res pravi problem je zanj predstavljal odklonilni odnos do jugoslovanskega gibanja s strani italijanske vlade. Sicer je Leeper opozoril, da Jugoslovanski odbor nima pravega neposrednega mandata jugoslovanskih

24 DDI, 5/XI, 248–249, 261–263, 354–355, 367–368, 416, dok. 299, 313, 464, 482, 559: Montagliari [minister pri kralju Črne Gore v Parizu], Parigi a Sonnino (T. Gab. Posta 1534/37, 1550/38, 1725/5, 1755/6 in 1856/10), 30. 7., 2. in 31. 8., 5. in 23. 9. 1918; TNA FO 371/3137/163720, Derby, Paris to Balfour (No. 1162), 26. 9. 1918; 163724, Derby, Paris to Balfour (No. 1164), 26. 9. 1918; 163724, Grahame, Paris (No. 10, Montenegro), 26. 9. 1918; 163985, izrezek iz *Temps: Déclarations de M. Pachitch*, 27. 9. 1918; YPD/1, 77–81: Des Graz to Balfour (No. III, Confidential), 22. 12. 1918. Glede medvojnih različnih pogledov npr. TNA CAB 24/14/10, A.W.A.L. [Alexander Wigram Allan Leeper], Intelligence Bureau, Department of Information, Section D (GT 810): *Weekly Report on Serbia II* (DSW/002), *Montenegro's Attitude to the Jugoslav Idea*, 23. 5. 1917.

25 Zelo povedno je bilo poročilo z navajanjem konkretnih podatkov, ki jih je konec leta 1918 zbral Harold W. V. Temperley, eden izmed najbolj pripravljenih britanskih oficirjev na tleh nove jugoslovanske države (YPD/1, 91–96: Harold W. V. Temperley, Maj. G. S. to Major General C. B. Thwaites, C. B., Director of Military Intelligence, War Office London (No. 7), 3. 1. 1918 [1919] in več prilog). Tudi druga tedanja poročila so potrjevala kaotičnost (YPD/1, 97–107: De Salis, Rome to Curzon (No. 11), 12. 1. 1919 in Capt. R. H. Brodie to the Military Attaché, Rome, 13. 1. 1919).

26 DDI, 5/XI, 413–414, dok. 556: Paulucci, Berna a Sonnino (T. Gab. Posta 1854/66), 21. 9. 1918.

27 TNA FO 371/3137/169690, Trumbić to Balfour, 7. 10. 1918; *Memorandum (by Dr. Trumbić, President of the Jugoslav Committee) Regarding Jugoslav Recognition*, 7. 10. 1918.

narodov, ki živijo v Dvojni monarhiji, a je zanj v okviru bodoče države na jugu Balkana večji problem predstavljal odnos srbske vlade. Glede nje je ocenil, da je Trumbičeva spomenica nekoliko pretiravala. Leeper je nazadnje izpostavil, da mora priti do poenotena med Odborom in srbsko vlado v luči Krfske deklaracije 1917, in sicer, da bo nova država pod Karađorđevići.²⁸

V Londonu so oktobra pravilno predvidevali, da bodo predvsem Hrvati težko sprejeli srbsko nadvlado (Slovencev niso omenjali).²⁹ Množili so se namreč protesti, ker naj bi želeta srbska stran v bodoči državi delovati v smeri njene hegemonije.³⁰ To je v naslednjih dneh Pašić javno demantiral, je pa ob isti priložnosti zavrnil možnost, da bi bila bodoča jugoslovanska država federalistična.³¹ Jugoslovanski odbor je še dalje vztrajal na svojem prepričanju. Britancem je poslal 14 strani dolgo poročilo s statističnimi in drugimi podatki o etnični poseljenosti območja "bodočih Jugoslovanov". Dodal jim je seveda svojo interpretacijo – da je slovanska prisotnost v bistvu številčenjša od uradnih demografskih prikazov – ter nekaj z vsebino povezanih zemljevidov;³² s tem je seveda dodatno poudaril svoj pogled, kako naj bi se nove meje zarisale. Obenem je Odbor zavračal poslednji poskus avstrijskega cesarja Karla I. (kot ogrski kralj Karel IV.) z dne 16. oktobra po ohranitvi imperija in zbral več dokumentov, ki so pričali o tem, da si Srbi, Hrvati in Slovenci iz Avstro-Ogrske ter tudi njihovi predstavniki po svetu res želijo iti svojo pot.³³ Drugi dokumenti iz oktobra 1918 kažejo na to, da je vsaka stran vztrajala na svojem prepričanju in da je na spor vplivala tudi očitna osebna nekompatibilnost jugoslovanskih voditeljev.³⁴

V britanskih krogih so se oktobra 1918 tudi prepričali, da bo moralo priti prej ali slej do zaveznškega priznanja Jugoslovanskega odbora in posledično jugoslovanske državnosti, a pred tem bi morali sami "Jugoslovani" poenotiti medsebojne poglede. To bi se moralo zgoditi še pred bližajočo se mirovno konferenco. Sam zunanji minister Balfour je poskušal v to prepričati Trumbića in Pašića. Jasno je bilo, da je britanska vlada začela iskati možnosti, kako bi lahko med njima prišlo do dogovora, pri čemer bi morala srbska stran nekoliko popustiti. Hkrati je pozorno

28 TNA FO 371/3137/169690, *Draft Suggestions by the Jugoslav Committee for a Declaration by the Entente Governments Regarding Jugoslavia*; AWAL [Alexander Wigram Allan Leeper]: *Minute on Dr. Trumbić's Memorandum*, 8. 10. 1918.

29 TNA FO 371/3137/172539, več komentarjev Foreign Officea [sredi oktobra 1918].

30 TNA FO 371/3137/174372, Paris, 11. 10. 1918; Earl od Derby, Paris to Balfour (No. 777), 16. 10. 1918.

31 TNA FO 371/3137/174278, izrezek iz *The Morning Post: The Jugo-Slav Nation*. Serbian Premier's Declaration, 17. 10. 1918.

32 TNA FO 371/3137/174611, Trumbić to Cecil, 18. 10. 1918 in *Statistics of the Population of the Lands Inhabited by the Yugoslavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) under Austria-Hungary*. Zemljevidi, ki bi jih bilo vredno posebej analizirati, so shranjeni v TNA MPK 1/291.

33 TNA FO 371/3137/175814, Trumbić to Balfour, 20. 10. 1918 in *Yugoslav Replay to the Austrian Emperor's Manifesto*, 19. 10. 1918; 176378, Trumbić to Balfour, 19. 10. 1918 in več prilog; 179163, Trumbić to Cecil, 21. 10. 1918 in več prilog.

34 TNA FO 371/3137/176415, to Balfour, 17. 10. 1918; Foreign Office to Derby, Paris (No. 2244), 23. 10. 1918; 177619, [Seton-Watson, memorandum, 19. 10. 1918]; 179472, Derby, Paris (No. 1334), 28. 10. 1918.

sledila prizadevanjem “jugoslovanskih” politikov v Dvojni monarhiji, da se od slednje ločijo.³⁵ To je seveda zanimalo tudi italijanske kroge, na primer tudi zaradi lažnih novic, da naj bi se zunanji minister Sonnino celo odpovedal Londonskemu memorandumu. Italijanska diplomacija je obenem vsakič ponovila, da se morajo “Jugoslovani” odreči pretiranim zahtevam “ekstremistov” ter da so obljube iz leta 1915 nedotakljive.³⁶

Med tem je srbska vlada poslala vsem zavezniškim vladam (torej tudi italijanski) in ZDA memorandum o bodoči jugoslovanski državi. Kot večkrat se je francoska stran o tem posvetovala z britansko³⁷ in se naposled sredi oktobra odločila, da v tedanjem trenutku njegovo priznanje ne bi bilo primerno. Rimska vlada je tako držo popolnoma osvojila, v Londonu pa so bili še zmeraj pripravljeni priznati memorandum.³⁸ Očitno pa Britanci niso želeli tvegati samostojne akcije, saj bi to partnerji iz Pariza in predvsem Rima negativno sprejeli.

POGOJI OB “KAPITULACIJI” AVSTRO-OGRSKE

Tudi pogoji ob koncu vojne z Avstro-Ogrsko so predstavljeni nadvse veliko prednost za italijansko stran. Po tem, ko je zavezniški vojni svet zadnjega oktobra 1918 določil pogoje za premirje, je prišlo 3. novembra blizu Padove (v Villa Giusti) do podpisa “kapitulacije” med predstavniki Vrhovnega štaba avstro-ogrskih in italijanskih vojsk. Nekateri sicer pišejo o premirju in tudi v samem italijanskem originalu piše Armistizio – kar pomeni premirje – kar pa ni najprimernejši izraz glede na zelo stroge pogoje, po katerih je morala Avstro-Ogrska izvesti popolno demobilizacijo in izročiti zmagovalcem (antantnim silam in ZDA) veliko bojnega materiala (polovico vsega na območjih, ki jih je zasedla njena vojska). Zaradi tega bomo v pričujoči razpravi uporabljali izraz “kapitulacija”.

Oglejmo si torej najpomembnejša določila v besedilu “kapitulacije”, ki je bilo v tedanjem času in pozneje večkrat objavljeno.³⁹ Pogoji so bili razdeljeni na dva dela. V prvem, ki ga je sestavljalo 8 točk, so bile vojaške klavzule ali kot je pisalo v tržaški Edinosti “na suhem”. Izpostavili bomo le tiste, ki so najpomembnejše za obravnavo

35 TNA FO 371/3137/171114, *Suggested Serbian Policy*, 12. 10. 1918; komentar AWAL [Alexander Wigram Allan Leeper], 15. 10. 1918; komentar Balfour; 171759, Balfour to des Graz (No. 36, The War, Confidential), 9. 10. 1918; 172915, *Jugoslav Independence* [prevod proklamacije Jugoslovanskega parlamentarnega kluba na Dunaju]; Foreign Office, 14. 10. 1918.

36 DDI, 5/XI, 438, 453–454, 479–480, 499–500, dok. 589, 619, 641, 657: Paulucci, Berna a Sonnino (T. Gab. 1904/71), 1. 10. 1918; Bonin, Parigi a Sonnino (T. Gab. 1964/528), 4. 10. 1918; Tommasi, Stoccolma a Sonnino (T. Gab. 1996/152), 8. 10. 1918; Borghese [urednik časopisa *Corriere della Sera*], Berna a Gallegna [podsekretar za propagando v tujini in tisk] (T. 2239), 11. 10. 1918.

37 TNA FO 371/3137/172539, Ambasade de France à Londres, 14. 10. 1918.

38 DDI, 5/XI, 511–512, dok. 674: Sonnino a Imperiali, Londra, Bonin, Parigi, Macchi di Celere, Washington e Sforza, Corfu (T. Gab. 1496), 15. 10. 1918; TNA FO 371/3137/176452, Balfour to Rodd (No. 408), 17. 10. 1918.

39 Npr. *Edinost*, l. 43, št. 302, 5. 11. 1918: Pogoji na za premirje na bivših avstro-ogrskih frontah, 1; Trieste, Ottobre–Novembre 1918/II, 171–174, dok. 143: *Protocollo delle Condizioni di Armistizio tra le Potenze Alleate e Associate e l’Austria-Ungheria*, 3. 11. 1918.

naše tematike. V točki 3 je bila predvidena evakuacija vseh zasedenih območij. Glede slovenskega etničnega ali etnično mešanega območja bi umik potekal preko naslednje črte: od prelaza Predel, Mangarta, Triglava in na prelomnici prelazov Podbrdo, Podlanišče in Idrija; dalje jugovzhodno v smeri Snežnika, izpustila bo nato celotno porečje Save in njene pritokov; od Snežnika se bo meja spustila do obale, tako da bo zajemala Kastav, Matulji in Volosko. Vsa izpraznjena območja bi zasedle čete antante in ZDA. V točki 4 je bilo predvideno, da bi se tu zavezniške čete lahko povsem svobodno premikale in če bi bilo potrebno, bi lahko zasedle dodatna strateška območja, a le začasno (dokler se jim bi zdelo potrebno, da tu ohranijo mir). Točka 6 je velevala, da bi zaupali začasno administracijo zasedenih ozemelj lokalnim organom pod nadzorom okupacijskih sil.

V drugem delu, ki ga je sestavljalo 11 točk, so bile pomorske klavzule, ali kot so ta del naslovili v časopisu *Edinost*, „pomorski pogoji“. Za našo tematiko so najpomembnejše naslednja določila. V točki 1 je bilo med drugim predvideno, da bodo morale nevtralne države dovoliti prosto plovbo vsem vojaškim in tovornim ladjam antante. Točka 3 je določala, da bodo morali določeno število bojnih in tovornih ladij predati antanti in ZDA, izbiro teh plovil pa bodo opravili sami zavezni, ki bodo tudi izbrali avstro-ogrsko pristanišče, kamor bodo priplule vse druge ladje, katere bodo tudi demobilizirali in popolnoma razorožili. V 4. točki je bilo med drugim predvideno, da bodo lahko vojne mornarice Italije in zaveznikov svobodno plule po Jadranu. Točka 5 je predvidela nadaljevanje blokade in zasedbo avstro-ogrskih ladij, ki bi plule, razen za tiste izjeme, za katere bo odločala posebna komisija zaveznikov in Američanov. 8. točka pa je predvidela zasedbo s strani zaveznikov in ZDA vseh kopnih in pomorskih fortifikacij ter utrjenih otokov v bran Pulja in njene ladjedelnice.

SKLEP

Z Londonskim memorandumom aprila 1915 je italijanska stran med vojno prejela določene obljube, a ne povsem v neki pravno-formalno zavezajoči obliki. Ne nazadnje Memoranduma niso v italijanskem parlamentu nikoli uradno ratificirali. Bil je torej v bistvu le političen dokument, ki pa je kljub vsemu imel oziroma ohranjal pomembno če ne zelo odločilno težo. V okviru teh obljub je namreč italijanska stran med in po zaključku bojev stalno usmerjala svojo politiko in od zaveznikov (Velike Britanije in Francije) zahtevala polno uresničitev njegovih določil. V Londonu in Parizu se obenem Italiji niso hoteli pretirano zameriti.

Analiza primarnih virov je pokazala, da je v zadnjih mesecih vojne obstajala – morda le minimalna – možnost, da bi italijanska stran vendarle uradno priznala idejo o bodoči jugoslovanski državi. Možnost je seveda pogojevala s tem, da se morajo obljube iz leta 1915 povsem uresničiti. Naposled se je ta možnost oddaljila oziroma izničila in tako je tudi na tem področju italijanska stran ohranila svojo prednost. Konec oktobra jo je nato potrdila, saj mednarodna skupnost Države SHS ni priznala. Sami Britanci in Francozi niso med tem tvegali, da bi Jugoslovanski

odbor uradno priznali, kar bi seveda bilo pomembno za Slovence in Hrvate. Lahko tudi sklepamo, da na tako odločitev omenjenih dveh antantnih držav razprtije med bodočimi "Jugoslovani" niso pozitivno vplivale. Vsekakor vsaj kar se tiče Londona lahko rečemo, da so si Britanci zelo prizadevali, da bi srbska stran (Pašić) in Odbor (Trumbić) vendorle našli skupni jezik. Odnos med njima se je dodatno zakomplikiral zaradi različnih pogledov in želja, ne nazadnje v Črni gori, kar je jugoslovansko idejo (in torej Slovence in Hrvate v Julijski krajini) napram Italiji dodatno šibilo.

Če so po eni strani bili pogoji (podpisani 3. novembra 1918) za Avstro-Ogrsko zelo restriktivni, so po drugi nudili Italiji velike prednosti. Očitno so izvirali iz medvojnih obljub, čeprav slednje v besedilu "kapitulacije" niso omenjene. Pri zasedbi na kopnem so vsekakor pogoji tudi po diktiji skoraj enaki obljubam iz Londonskega memoranduma 1915. Edini problem za Italijo bi lahko predstavljal točka 6, saj je govorila o skupni zasedbi. Dodatni zelo ugodni pogoji za italijansko stran so ne nazadnje bile pomorske klavzule, ki jih v Memorandumu 1915 sploh ni bilo.

ADVANTAGES OF ITALY IN THE OCCUPATION OF VENEZIA GIULIA AT THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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SUMMARY

The period between the end of October and the beginning of November 1918 was the first real historic moment, when the border between Italy and the newly emerging Yugoslav state – in the area of Venezia Giulia – was drawn. At the time, the Italian side had a great advantage. Based on primary sources and rich literature, the article analyzes the three most important political and legal-formal (rather than military) advantages, that Italy had against Slovenes and Croats in occupying Venezia Giulia at the end of World War I. Firstly, these were the promises made to Italy regarding the entering the World War I on the side of the Entente, by the 1915 London Memorandum. The Memorandum was not a legally-formally binding document. It was a political document, which was extremely important, even decisive, after the end of the war. In the context of these promises, the Italian side had steadily directed its policies before and after the fighting had ended, and demanded that the Allies (Great Britain and France) fully realize it; and in London and Paris, they did not want any resentments by Italy. Secondly, Italy was one of the winners of the war, while Slovenes and Croats were in a completely different position, because they were not even fully internationally recognized. This problem had its roots in the years during the war. The British and French did not take the risk to officially recognize the Yugoslav Committee, which would have been important for Slovenes and Croats. However, we can say that the British worked hard to find common grounds with the Serbian side (Nikola Pašić) and the Committee (Ante Trumbić). Additional complications occurred in Montenegro due to different views and preferences. This turned to an additional advantage for Italy and therefore a disadvantage for the Yugoslav idea, and also for the Slovenes and Croats in Venezia Giulia. Third, the great advantage were the conditions that Austria-Hungary had to accept at the end of the war (signed 3 November 1918). On the one hand, the conditions for Austria-Hungary were very restrictive, which meant that they offered great advantages to Italy. The terms stemmed from inter-war promises, though the latter were not mentioned in the “capitulation” text. Even when occupied onshore, the conditions were almost the same as promised under the 1915 London Memorandum. The only problem for Italy could have been the point 6, that referred to a joint occupa-

tion of the land. Additional favorable conditions for the Italian side were the maritime clauses, that were not mentioned in the Memorandum of 1915. All these advantages were mentioned in previous studies, but they have not been addressed in detail.

Keywords: Italy, Slovenes, Croats, Venezia Giulia, London Memorandum 1915, Austria-Hungary, end of World War I

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Darovec, D. (2011): Moderna štetja prebivalstva in slovensko-hrvaška etnična meja v Istri. V: Darovec, D. & Strčić, P. (ur.): Slovensko-hrvaško sosedstvo / Hrvatsko-slovensko susjedstvo. Koper, Univerzitetna založba Annales, 129-142.

- Opis članka v **reviji**:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka, strani od-do. Primer:

Čeč, D. (2007): Nasilne detomorilke ali neprištevne žrtve? Spreminjanje podobe detomora v 18. in začetku 19. stoletja. *Acta Histriae*, 15, 2, 415-440.

- opis ustnega vira:

Informator (leto pričevanja): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno pričevanje. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

- opis vira iz internetnih spletnih strani:

Če je mogoče, internetni vir zabeležimo enako kot članek in dodamo spletni naslov ter v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

Če avtor ni znan, navedemo nosilca spletne strani, leto objave, naslov in podnaslov besedila, spletni naslov in v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran.

12. Kratice v besedilu moramo razrešiti v oklepaju, ko se prvič pojavi. Članku lahko dodamo tudi seznam uporabljenih kratic.

13. Pri ocenah publikacij navedemo v naslovu prispevka avtorja publikacije, naslov, kraj, založbo, leto izida in število strani (ozioroma ustrezen opis iz točke 10).

14. Prvi odtis člankov uredništvo pošlje avtorjem v **korekturo**. Avtorji so dolžni pojavljeno gradivo vrniti v enem tednu. Širjenje obsega besedila ob korekturah ni dovoljeno. Druge korekture opravi uredništvo.

15. Za dodatna pojasnila v zvezi z objavo člankov je uredništvo na voljo.

UREDNIŠTVO

ISTRUZIONI PER GLI AUTORI

1. La rivista ACTA HISTRIAЕ pubblica **articoli scientifici originali e rassegne** relativi alla sfera degli studi umanistici, in particolare la storiografia. L'area geografica di base coperta dalla pubblicazione include l'Istria e la parte mediterranea della Slovenia, nonché tutti gli altri temi che si ricollegano al Mediterraneo in base a studi interdisciplinari e comparativi. Tutti gli articoli vengono recensiti. La recensione è completamente anonima.
2. La Redazione accetta articoli in lingua slovena, italiana, croata e inglese. Gli autori devono garantire l'ineccepibilità linguistica dei testi.
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5. I contributi devono essere corredati da un **riassunto** e da una **sintesi**. Quest'ultima sarà più breve (max. 100 parole) del riassunto (cca 200 parole).
Nella *sintesi* si descriveranno brevemente i metodi e i risultati delle ricerche e anche i motivi che le hanno determinate. La sintesi non conterrà commenti e segnalazioni.
Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.
6. Gli autori sono tenuti ad indicare le **(5–7) parole chiave** adeguate. Sono necessari anche le **traduzioni in inglese (o sloveno) e italiano** della sintesi, del riassunto, delle parole chiave, delle didascalie, delle fotografie e delle tabelle.
7. L'eventuale **materiale iconografico** (originale) va preparato in formato elettronico (jpeg. / tiff) e consegnato in file separati alla definizione di 300 dpi a grandezza desiderata, purché non ecceda i 12x15 cm. Prima della pubblicazione, l'autore provvederà a fornire alla Redazione tutte le autorizzazioni richieste per la riproduzione del materiale iconografico ed archivistico (in virtù della Legge sui diritti d'autore). Tutte le immagini, tabelle e grafici dovranno essere accompagnati da didascalie e numerati in successione.

8. Le **note a piè di pagina** sono destinate essenzialmente a fini esplicativi e di contenuto. I **riferimenti bibliografici** richiamano un'altra pubblicazione (articolo). La nota bibliografica, riportata nel testo, deve contenere i seguenti dati: *cognome dell'autore, anno di pubblicazione* e, se citiamo un determinato brano del testo, anche le *pagine*. Ad es.: (Isoton, 2006, 25) oppure (Isoton, 2006).

I riferimenti bibliografici completi delle fonti vanno quindi inseriti nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia (saranno prima indicate le fonti e poi la bibliografia). L'autore indicherà esclusivamente i lavori e le edizioni citati nell'articolo.

I dati completi sulle pubblicazioni nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia verranno riportati in questa maniera:

Isoton, R. (2006): Crimen in itinere. Profili della disciplina del tentativo dal diritto comune alle codificazioni moderne. Napoli, Jovene.

Se si citano *più lavori dello stesso autore* pubblicati nello stesso anno accanto al cognome va aggiunta una lettera in ordine alfabetico progressivo per distinguere i vari lavori. Ad es.:

(Isoton, 2006a) e (Isoton, 2006b).

Il riferimento bibliografico può essere parte della nota a piè di pagina e va riportato nello stesso modo come sopra.

Singole opere o vari riferimenti bibliografici in una stessa nota vanno divisi dal punto e virgola. Per es.:

(Isoton, 2006; Massetto, 2005).

9. Le **fonti d'archivio** vengono citate nel testo, *tra parentesi*. Si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio - numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, numero del documento (non il suo titolo). Ad es.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

Nel caso in cui un documento non fosse contraddistinto da un numero, ma solo da un titolo, la fonte d'archivio verrà citata *a piè di pagina*. In questo caso si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio - numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, titolo del documento. Ad es.:

ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

Le sigle utilizzate verranno svolte per intero, in ordine alfabetico, nella sezione “Fondi” a fine testo. Ad es.:

ASMI-SLV – Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMI), f. Senato Lombardo-Veneto (SLV).

10. Nel citare **fonti di giornale** nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata *a piè di pagina*:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all’Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26. Nell’elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale. Il luogo di edizione, l’editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Il Corriere della Sera. Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

11. Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un’opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

Cozzi, G., Knapton, M. & G. Scarabello (1995): La Repubblica di Venezia nell’età moderna – dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica. Torino, Utet.

Se *gli autori sono più di due*, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(Cozzi et al., 1995).

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

- Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un volume miscellaneo:

autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Clemente, P. (2001): Il punto sul folklore. In: Clemente, P., Mugnaini, F. (eds.): Oltre il folklore. Roma, Carocci, 187–219.

- Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista**:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Miletti, M. N. (2007): La follia nel processo. Alienisti e procedura penale nell’Italia postunitaria. *Acta Histriae*, 15, 1, 321–342.

- Descrizione di una fonte orale:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell’informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

Predonzan, G. (1998): Giuseppe Predonzan, a. 1923, contadino di Parenzo. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell’intervista presso l’archivio personale dell’autore.

- Descrizione di una fonte tratta da pagina internet:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l’indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell’ultimo accesso:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf)

Se l’autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell’ultimo accesso.

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

12. Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.
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2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language.
3. The articles should be no longer than 36,000 characters (without spaces). They can be submitted via e-mail (ActaHistriae@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.
4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address. Except initials and acronyms type in lowercase.
5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract**, with the former (max. 100 words) being longer than the latter (c. 200 words).
The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.
The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.
6. Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **(5–7) keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) and Italian translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.
7. If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 12x15 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative and archival matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.
8. **Footnotes** providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – sho-

uld contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text. E.g.: (Friedman, 1993, 153) or (Friedman, 1993).

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography).

The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

Friedman, L. (1993): Crime and Punishment in American History. New York, Basic Books.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:

(Friedman, 1993a) and (Friedman, 1993b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same bibliographic note, individual works should be separated by a semi-colon. E.g.:

(Friedman, 1993; Frost, 1997).

9. When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document could not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4 – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

10. If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

(The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009, 3)

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.

The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

11. The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article. Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:

- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:

Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher. E.g.:

Barth, F., Gingrich, A., Parkins, R. & S. Silverman (2005): One Discipline, Four Ways. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:

(Barth et al., 2005).

If citing an excerpt from a non-serial publication, you should also add the number of page from which the citation is taken after the year.

- Description of an article published in a **non-serial publication** – e.g. an article from a collection of papers:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. In: Author of publication: Title of publication. Place, Publisher, pages from-to. E.g.:

Rocke, M. (1998): Gender and Sexual Culture in Renaissance Italy. In: Brown, I. C., Davis, R. C. (eds.): Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy. New York, Longman, 150–170.

- Description of an article from a **serial publication**:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number, pages from-to. E.g.:

Faroqhi, S. (1986): The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire (1600–1630). The Journal of European Economic History, 15, 2, 345–384.

- Description of an oral source:

Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:

Baf, A. (1998): Alojzij Baf, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral testimony. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an internet source:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis).

If there are more citations by the same author(s), you should list them in the alphabetical order of the authors' surnames and year of publication.

12. The **abbreviations** should be *explained* when they first appear in the *text*. You can also add a list of their explanations at the end of the article.

13. The title of a **review article** should contain the following data: author of the publication reviewed, title of publication, address, place, publisher, year of publication and number of pages (or the appropriate description given in Item 10).
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